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ABSTRACT

This volume is a compilation of the summaries of news-editorial research reported in the American Newspaper Publishers Association News Research Bulletins during 1967. Of the 44 studies reported in this volume, twenty were done by universities, ten by individuals, nine by research agencies, and five by other organizations. The studies are arranged under the following chapter headings: "Makeup and Typography," "Some Communication Behavior," "Some Audience Characteristics," "Readership," "Readership by Teenagers," "Editorial Administration and Personnel," "News and Editorial Policy," "Content," "Research Method," and "Miscellaneous." A note at the beginning of each chapter cites research about the same subject matter reported in previous volumes. (TO)

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NEWS RESEARCH FOR BETTER NEWSPAPERS

VOLUME 3

1968

Compiled and edited by

DR. CHILTON R. BUSH

American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation
750 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017

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INTRODUCTION

Volume 3, like previous volumes of "News Research for Better Newspapers," is a compilation of the summaries of news-editorial research reported in the ANPA News Research bulletins during 1967.

Three of the longer reports are of research sponsored in 1967 by the American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation and done in universities. Additional projects have been commissioned for 1968.

One of the studies, "Comparison of Two Methods of Measuring Item Readership," is methodological. It compares the personal interview method with the method of the self-administered questionnaire. It was done to provide individual newspapers with adequate standards for making such studies on which editorial decisions are based. It shows that some kinds of items can be reliably measured by a self-administered questionnaire but that other kinds cannot be.

To improve research done by individual newspapers, ANPA last June held a five-day Workshop for Newspaper Researchers at Boulder, Colorado. A second Workshop will be held at Boulder June 23-28, 1968.

Of the 44 studies reported in this volume, 20 were done by universities; 10 by individual newspapers; 9 by research agencies; and 5 by others. Four of the reports are of studies sponsored or directed by the Bureau of Advertising, ANPA.

A note at the beginning of each chapter cites research about the same subject-matter reported in previous volumes.

Chilton R. Bush

American Newspaper Publishers Association Foundation
750 Third Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10017

February, 1968

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Chapter 1

For summaries of previous research about the subject-matter of this chapter, see Vol. 1, pp. 76-89 and Vol. 2, pp. 65-75, 102-105.

Which Type Faces For Women's Pages?

Garamond italic and Coronet Light were rated higher by women on various feminine qualities than were eight other type faces.

Bodoni, Stymie Light, Caledonia Bold, Radiant Medium, Onyx, Spartan Medium and Spartan Medium Italic were judged as essentially neutral on most feminine qualities.

Garamond Italic, an ultra feminine typeface, was compared with Spartan Black, an ultramasculine type face. There was no effect on ratings on page attractiveness, page reading interest, or item reading interest.

In general, type face effects were the same for all kinds of women regardless of their age or socio-economic status when they rated page attractiveness.

Samples of the ten type faces, and the image profiles for four type faces on each of 16 semantic differential scales are shown in Figs. 1 and 2 at the end of this survey.

The ANPA News Research Center sponsored a study by Dr. Jack B. Haskins, John Ben Snow, research professor, and Lois P. Flynne, research associate, at Syracuse University, to test the feminine-masculine qualities of several type faces for use on women's pages.

Drawing both on the experience of Professor Edmund Arnold and previous studies, Haskins and Flynne selected ten typefaces for testing: Garamond Italic, Coronet Light, Bodoni, Onyx, Radiant Medium, Stymie Light, Caledonia Bold, Spartan Medium, Spartan Medium Italic, and Spartan Black.

The first nine were chosen either because of their common usage on women's pages or because previous research suggested their suitability for such pages.

The tenth, Spartan Black, was chosen for contrast as an example of an extremely "masculine" typeface to be compared with Garamond Italic as an example of an extremely "feminine" type face.

A kit of ten identical women's pages, differing only as to the type used in the headline, was presented to a representative sample of 150 women in the Syracuse area. The women were asked to rate each of the headline types on a specially constructed set of 16 semantic differential scales of polar adjectives.

The scales were selected from among an extensive list by means of a pilot study designed to determine which scales best discriminated among type faces as to feminine characteristics. In this way, an "image" profile was arrived at for each of the typefaces.

Comparative judgments were also obtained on a 0 to 100 thermometer scale on overall page attractiveness, interest in reading something on the page, and interest in reading each of five articles on the page—judging from the headlines alone.

For these ratings, the women were randomly divided into three groups. The first group saw a suburban newspaper in which the Garamond Italic page had been inserted. The second group saw the same paper with Spartan Black headlines. The third group was shown five headline types of the insert page typed on plain white cards.

The Findings

1. Garamond Italic and Coronet Light were rated higher by the women than eight other type faces on various feminine qualities, such as graceful, soft, beautiful, expensive, elegant, weak, slow, delicate, feminine, light, and shy. **(See Figures 1 and 2 on pages 7 and 8)**

In addition, Coronet Light was rated as more ornate and more exotic. Generally speaking, Coronet Light rated higher on many of the qualities named above than did Garamond Italic and is, therefore, considered the most appropriate "image" for a woman's page. (The table which shows the comparative values has been omitted from this summary but may be obtained from ANPA.)

2. As predicted, Spartan Black, the contrast type face included in the study for comparative purposes, had an image quite different from the nine others. It rated very high on such qualities as loud, plain, ugly, cheap, inelegant, strong, repelling, fast, rugged, ordinary, masculine, heavy and bold.

3. The remaining seven type faces were all judged as essentially neutral on most qualities.

4. An ultra-feminine type face, Garamond Italic, was compared with the same headlines set in an ultra-masculine type face, Spartan Black. There was no effect on page attractiveness ratings, page reading interest ratings, or item reading interest—as judged by the women.

5. In general, type face effects were the same for all kinds of women regardless of their age or socio-economic status.

6. Headline content rather than headline type face is the most important factor in a woman's decision to read or

not read a newspaper item. Reading interest in an item can be determined just as well from typed headlines on a plain white card as from headlines set in newspaper type on a newspaper page: reader interest ratings were identical for the two kinds of presentation.

7. Spartan Medium and Spartan Medium Italic were not significantly different from each other. However, another type face from the same family, Spartan Black, was significantly different on the various masculine qualities mentioned in (2) above. This indicates that image differences within a type face family can be greater then differences between families: The family classification method may have descriptive meaning but no functional meaning in terms of effect on the reader.

The Attributed Characteristics

The characteristics of each type face are listed below. Italicized characteristics are statistically significantly different from the neutral point (i.e., from 3.5 on the seven-interval scale). For purely descriptive purposes, any values falling within the scale interval either side of the middle scale interval (i.e., less than 3 and more than 4) are taken as attributes for the purpose of assigning characteristics. Where an attribute is preceded by "very" this means that the score was two-scale points from the neutral point.

Coronet Light: *Graceful*, *very soft*, *ornate*, beautiful, *expensive*, elegant, *weak*, *slow*, *very delicate*, exotic, *very feminine*, *very light*, *very shy*.

Garamond Italic: *Graceful*, *soft*, beautiful, interesting, expensive, elegant, weak, slow, *delicate*, *feminine*, *light*, shy.

Stymie Light: *Soft*, plain, weak, delicate, ordinary, light, shy.

Onyx: This type face had a neutral image with no characteristics attributed.

Bodoni: Plain, interesting, inviting, ordinary.

Radiant Medium: Graceful, plain, interesting, inviting, *delicate*, ordinary, light.

Caledonia Bold: Graceful, plain, interesting, *strong*, inviting, fast, ordinary, boring, bold.

Spartan Medium: Graceful, plain, interesting, strong, inviting, ordinary.

Spartan Medium Italic: Graceful, plain, interesting, strong, *inviting*, ordinary.

Spartan Black: *Very loud*, *plain*, ugly, interesting, cheap, inelegant, *very strong*, repelling, *very heavy*, *very bold*, fast, *rugged*, ordinary, *very masculine*.

Rank Ordering by Attributes

The rank ordering of the type faces by their feminine or positive attributes was as follows:

Feminine

1. Coronet Light
2. Garamond Italic
3. Stymie Light
4. Radiant Medium
5. Bodoni
6. Onyx
7. Spartan Medium
8. Spartan Medium Italic
9. Caledonia Bold
10. Spartan Black

(Masculine)

Graceful

1. Garamond Italic
2. Coronet Light
3. Radiant Medium
4. Spartan Medium
5. Spartan Medium Italic
6. Caledonia Bold
7. Bodoni
8. Stymie Light
9. Onyx
10. Spartan Black

(Awkward)

Elegant

1. Coronet Light
2. Garamond Italic
3. Radiant Medium
4. Caledonia Bold
5. Spartan Medium Italic
6. Spartan Medium
7. Stymie Light
8. Bodoni
9. Onyx
10. Spartan Black

(Inelegant)

Beautiful

1. Coronet Light
2. Garamond Italic
3. Radiant Medium
4. Bodoni
5. Spartan Medium
6. Caledonia Bold
7. Stymie Light
8. Spartan Medium Italic
9. Onyx
10. Spartan Black

(Ugly)

Slow

1. Coronet Light
2. Garamond Italic
3. Stymie Light
4. Onyx
5. Bodoni
6. Radiant Medium
7. Spartan Medium Italic
8. Spartan Medium
9. Caledonia Bold
10. Spartan Black

(Fast)

Soft

1. Coronet Light
2. Garamond Italic
3. Stymie Light
4. Radiant Medium
5. Bodoni
6. Spartan Medium
7. Spartan Medium Italic
8. Onyx
9. Caledonia Bold
10. Spartan Black

(Loud)

Interesting

1. Caledonia Bold
2. Spartan Medium
3. Spartan Black
4. Spartan Medium Italic
5. Radiant Medium

Weak

1. Coronet Light
2. Garamond Italic
3. Stymie Light
4. Radiant Medium
5. Onyx

Interesting

6. Garamond Italic
7. Bodoni
8. Coronet Light
9. Onyx
10. Stymie Light

(Boring)

Weak

6. Bodoni
7. Spartan Medium Italic
8. Spartan Medium
9. Caledonia Bold
10. Spartan Black

(Strong)

Delicate

1. Coronet Light
2. Garamond Italic
3. Stymie Light
4. Bodoni
5. Spartan Medium Italic
6. Spartan Medium
7. Onyx
8. Caledonia Bold
9. Radiant Medium
10. Spartan Black

(Rugged)

Ornate

1. Coronet Light
2. Garamond Italic
3. Onyx
4. Radiant Medium
5. Caledonia Bold
6. Spartan Medium
7. Bodoni
8. Spartan Medium Italic
9. Stymie Light
10. Spartan Black

(Plain)

Expensive

1. Coronet Light
2. Garamond Italic
3. Radiant Medium
4. Spartan Medium
5. Spartan Medium Italic
6. Onyx
7. Caledonia Bold
8. Bodoni
9. Stymie Light
10. Spartan Black

(Cheap)

Inviting

1. Radiant Medium
2. Caledonia Bold
3. Spartan Medium
4. Spartan Medium Italic
5. Bodoni
6. Garamond Italic
7. Onyx
8. Stymie Light
9. Coronet Light
10. Spartan Black

(Repelling)

Exotic

1. Coronet Light
2. Garamond Italic
3. Onyx
4. Radiant Medium
5. Caledonia Bold
6. Stymie Light
7. Spartan Medium
8. Spartan Medium Italic
9. Bodoni
10. Spartan Black

(Ordinary)

Light

1. Coronet Light
2. Garamond Italic
3. Stymie Light
4. Radiant Medium
5. Bodoni
6. Spartan Medium
7. Spartan Medium Italic
8. Onyx
9. Caledonia Bold
10. Spartan Black

(Heavy)

Shy	Loose
1. Coronet Light	1. Garamond Italic
2. Garamond Italic	2. Coronet Light
3. Stymie Light	3. Stymie Light
4. Radiant Medium	4. Radiant Medium
5. Bodoni	5. Spartan Medium
6. Spartan Medium Italic	6. Spartan Medium Italic
7. Spartan Medium	7. Caledonia Bold
8. Onyx	8. Bodoni
9. Caledonia Bold	9. Spartan Black
10. Spartan Black	10. Onyx
(Bold)	(Tight)

The authors acknowledge the considerable assistance of Professor David Norton, who obtained the type faces and set the headlines, and George Wortley III, publisher of the Fayetteville (N.Y.) Press, who set and printed the ten versions of the simulated women's page and also provided copies of his newspaper as a medium in which to "bury" the experimental treatments.

For a previous report on the aesthetic qualities of type faces as judged by laymen and professionals (printers and commercial artists), see "News Research for Better Newspapers," Vol. 2, pp. 67-72.

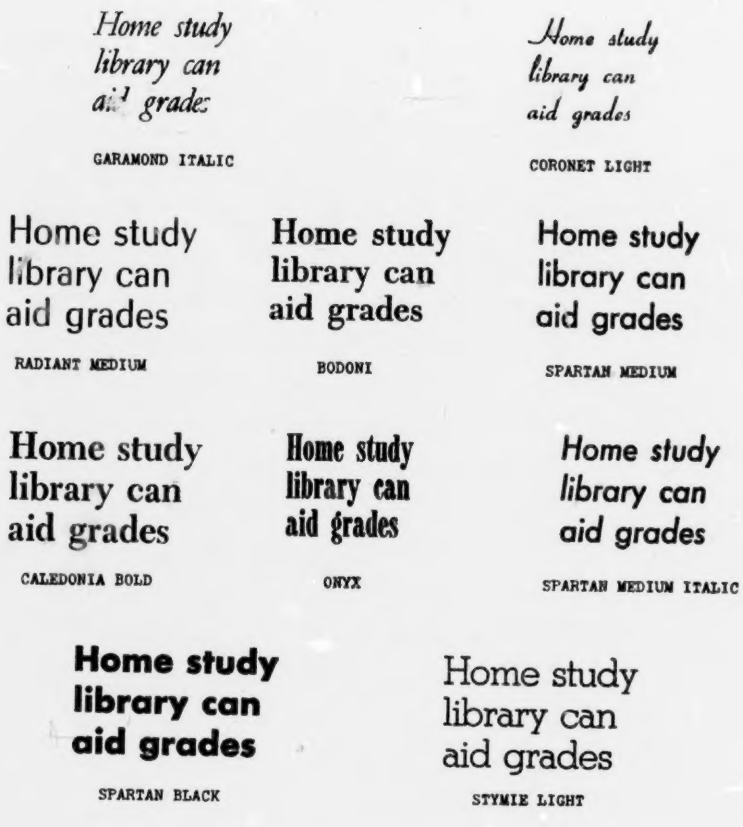
In sponsoring this study and in presenting the findings, the ANPA News Research Center is not offering a prescription. The editor and publisher, in deciding the type dress for women's pages, needs to consider the type face used in other pages and (in some instances) the face used in the second paper.

Moreover, they might feel more comfortable by using a somewhat feminine or neutral face. In the rank orders of aesthetic qualities, for example, Radiant Medium was chosen in fourth place for nine of the qualities and Bodoni in fifth place for six of the qualities. The main value of the findings is that they supply the editor and publisher with some objective data from which they can make their own inferences.

Ed. Note: The corresponding chart on page 7 gives the ten type faces used by Dr. Jack B. Haskins and his associates, in their determination of preferred type faces for Women's Pages. The chart on page 8 gives image profiles for four typefaces on each 16 semantic differential scales.

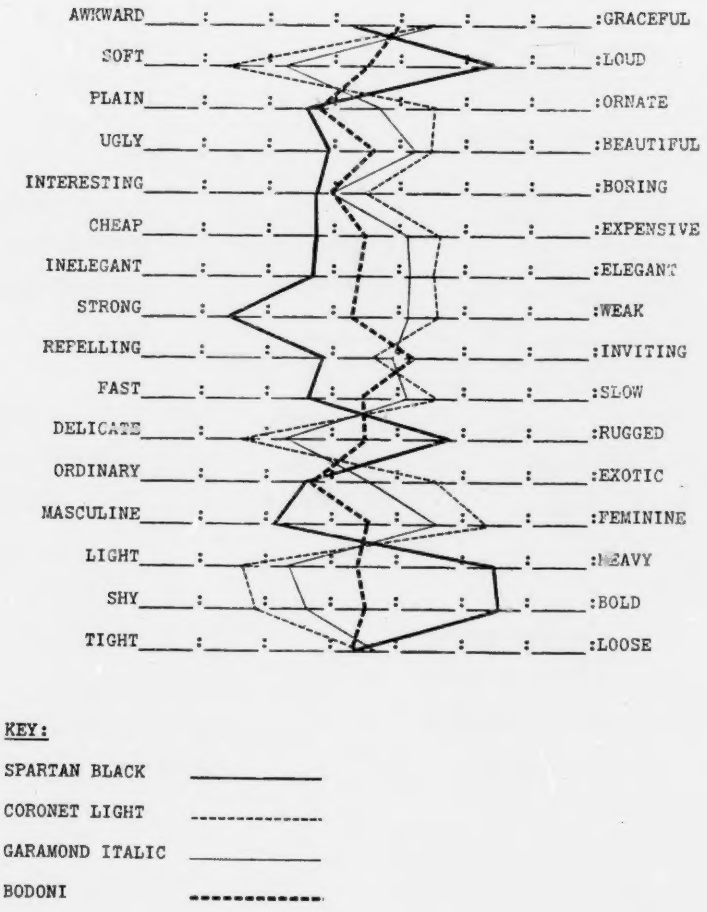
This study was sponsored by the ANPA News Research Center.

FIGURE 1: SAMPLES OF THE TEN TYPEFACES



Home study library can aid grades
GARAMOND ITALIC
Home study library can aid grades
CORONET LIGHT
Home study library can aid grades
RADIANT MEDIUM
Home study library can aid grades
BODONI
Home study library can aid grades
SPARTAN MEDIUM
Home study library can aid grades
CALEDONIA BOLD
Home study library can aid grades
ONYX
Home study library can aid grades
SPARTAN MEDIUM ITALIC
Home study library can aid grades
SPARTAN BLACK
Home study library can aid grades
STYMIE LIGHT

FIGURE 2: IMAGE PROFILES FOR FOUR TYPEFACES ON EACH OF 16 SEMANTIC DIFFERENTIAL SCALES



"Flip This Section To Continued Story"

The Johnson City (Tenn.) Press-Chronicle last December polled its readers and found that more than 90% liked its new way of jumping stories from Page 1, and none objected. A few readers were noncommital.

The new way is to jump stories to the last page of the first section and to print that page upside down.

To complete reading a jumped story, the reader merely lifts the section up from the bottom.

After publishing experimental editions on Nov. 28 and Dec. 3 and polling its readers, the Press-Chronicle adopted the practice regularly on Dec. 9. That issue had two 10-page sections.

When possible, the jumped story is placed in the same column on the jump page as it occupied on Page 1.

On a few occasions when multi-color ads or editorial pictures must run on the last page, because of mechanical requirements, the paper reverts to its former policy of jumping stories to Page 2.

Several years ago the Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal and Louisville Times adopted the practice of jumping all Page 1 stories to the last page of the first section. This is also the practice of the London (England) Daily Telegraph.

Readership of Jumps: Some Recent Research Findings

> Of those who started to read the average page 1 story that was jumped, about three out of four completed all of the story that was on page 1.
>
> Of those who read the last "part" on page 1, about four out of five read all or some of the continuation on an inside page.
>
> Of those who started to read the continuation, about five out of six men and four out of five women read all of it.
>
> Slightly more than one-half of the readers who began the average story on page 1 that was jumped read all of the story, including the continuation. The range of the total loss of readers was from 6% to 82%.
>
> Corresponding percentages for teenagers' readership were lower than those mentioned above.
>
> Readership of the continuation is highly related to the amount of display given it on an inside page.

Carl J. Nelson Research, Inc. made "Survey-of-the-Month" studies of 17 metropolitan newspapers between October, 1965 and January, 1967 (See p. 61 for the list of newspapers). For several stories in the studies, scores were reported by readership of "parts." A "part" is about one-fourth of the item. The measurement by "parts" permits an analysis of the readership of jumped stories more meaningful than the analysis that could be made of previous studies in which stories were not measured by "parts."

The number of jumped stories in each paper ranged from one to eight. The median number of jumps per paper, including the paper which did not jump any story, was 4.6.

How Much Was Read on Page 1?

Of those men who began a story on page 1 that was jumped, 77% read the last "part" on page 1. The corresponding readership by women was 75%. That is, the average loss of readers on page 1 was: men, 23%, women 25%.

How Many Read First Part of the Jump?

Of the men who had read the last "part" of a jumped story on page 1, 78% read the first "part" of the continuation. The corresponding readership by women was 82%. That is, 22% of the men and 18% of the women did not read the first "part" of the jump.

This does not mean, however, that 78% of the men and 82% of the women turned immediately to the jump. Some apparently read the jump only after they came to it. In some instances, it was the display given the jump that induced them to read it.

Display of the Jump

The scores were analyzed by the amount of display given the continuation. Some of the jump heads were very large and at the top of the page; others were quite small and below the fold. Some jumps were accompanied by art.

Table 1 shows the percentage of those readers who had read the last "part" of the story on page 1 who also read the first "part" of the continuation.

TABLE 1.

PERCENTAGE OF THOSE WHO READ THE LAST "PART" OF A STORY ON PAGE 1 WHO ALSO READ THE FIRST "PART" OF THE CONTINUATION: BY AMOUNT OF DISPLAY OF THE CONTINUATION

Display of Jump:	Men	Women
High	83%	88%
Medium	70	68
Low	54	54
All stories	78	82

The data in the table show a high relationship between readership of the jump and the display given the jump. Actually, in nine instances the first "part" of the jump showed a gain in readership over the last "part" on page 1. That is, more readers read the first "part" of the jump than had read the last "part" on page 1. These percentages ranged from 1% to 27%.

The extent to which content rather than display explained readership of the jump could not be measured. A correlation analysis was made of 41 jumped stories. When either the initial score or the percentage of loss of readership on page 1 was considered a measure of interest in content, with amount of display being held constant, the analysis showed there was no relationship of reader interest in the story and readership of the jump.

In the absence of exact data, we can speculate that the percentage of readers who did not read the jump when it had low display—46% (100-54)—represents a readership loss that is caused solely by the jump. To the extent that this is a correct inference, it is, then, an argument against the jumping of many stories.

How Much of the Jump Was Read?

For the 41 stories for which readership of the jump was measured by "parts," the average loss from the first "part" of the jump to the last "part" of the jump was: men 17%, women 19%. Thus, of those men who had read the first "part" of the jump, 83% read the last "part," and for those women who had read the first "part" of the jump, 81% read the last "part."

Readership of the Whole Story

For 80 jumped stories the percentage of readership loss from the initial score on page 1 to the end of the story was 45% for men and 44% for women. For about one-half of the stories, the end of the story means the last "part" of the jump, but for the other half it means any part of the jump (presumably the first part) since readership of the jumps for those stories was not measured by "parts."

If readership of jumps for all stories had been measured by "parts," the loss could have been greater (See discussion above of "How Much of the Jump Was Read?"). This would mean that probably less than one-half of the readers who started the average jumped story on page 1 read all of it.

When we consider that the average initial score for all of the 80 stories was 40 for men and 32 for women, and, furthermore, that only about one-half of the readers read the whole story, it becomes apparent that the jumped portion of the average story was for the information of a small percentage of *all* readers of the newspapers.

Obviously, this is justifiable for some important and/or interesting stories, but in a few instances, it seems from a reading of the individual stories, that the news editor overestimated reader interest in the details in the latter part of the story.

Whether the latter part of such stories would have had more complete readership if the stories had not been jumped can be ascertained only from a split-run study.

Sports Stories Jumped

Nine sports stories were jumped. Their initial scores for men ranged from 36 to 58. Five were judged to have high display, two medium and two low. Of those who began a story on the first sports page, 64% read the continuation on a following page.

Teenagers' Readership of Jumps

Table 2 shows the reading behavior of teenagers.

TABLE 2.

TEENAGERS' READING OF JUMPED STORIES

	Boys	Girls
Average initial score	15	15
% who began story who read last part on p. 1	70	70
% who read last part on p. 1 who read first part of jump	62	59
% who read first part of jump who read last part of jump	81	70
% who began story who read all or some of the jump	42	36
*% of *all* teenage readers who completed a story	6.3	5.4

*42% and 36% of 15 (initial score)

It will be noted that 58% (100-42) of the boys and 64% (100-36) of the girls who began the average jumped story on page 1 either read none of the jump or did not finish reading the jump. This compares with 45% for men and 44% for women (See "Readership of the Whole Story" above).

Some Causes of Jumps

The number of inferences that can be made from the data presented here—which refer only to readership—are limited. There are other considerations which are matters of editorial judgment, and for which research probably cannot supply a definite rationale.

Because, however, there is so much inconsistency among newspapers—not necessarily those analyzed here—some of the reasons for jumping stories are listed and discussed below.

1. When an important and/or interesting news story requires a considerable amount of space. As an example, a newspaper allocated four columns for a particular story. Eleven inches of text and 28 inches of art were put on page

1. A jump of 16 inches, a sidebar of 10 inches, and 17 inches of art were put on an inside page. This had the advantage of grouping the text and art on an inside page as well as of accommodating to the requirements of importance and estimated reader interest.

2. A tendency in some papers to use a skyline eight columns wide above the nameplate. This has the effect of shortening the columns below the nameplate, thus leaving less space for the accommodation of other stories and art on page 1.

3. An increased tendency in recent years to use more art on page 1 while maintaining a rule of thumb that a certain minimum number of stories must be on page 1. As to the latter practice, there is great inconsistency among newspapers. For some papers the rule means having an absolute number of stories—at least above the fold (to give a "newsy" appearance to the paper). For other papers the rule means merely having a representation of readers' interests and/or datelines.

4. In the conflict between utility value and aesthetic value with the latter being preferred. This is observable in those papers which jump a good many stories—some as many as 13.

Reading continuations in a newspaper is not as easy as reading them in a magazine. The magazine format is smaller, the continuations are easier to locate, and the reader has no difficulty in finding the place in the front part at which he left off reading. It would seem that in some newspapers a striving for a kind of perfect aesthetic balance is overemphasized when it makes the paper as a whole harder to read.

5. Inadequate trimming of some stories, This, of course, is a matter of judgment about reader interest and/or importance—except when it is a function of an undermanned desk.

Some Determinants of Readership: A Series of Split-run Studies

Where in a newspaper an item is published is not as important a determinant of readership as are "how it is presented" and "how it is said."

The most important determinant is "what is said."

Dr. Galen R. Rarick, of the University of Oregon School of Journalism, in the spring of 1963, developed 13 hypotheses to test "the validity of some of the folklore of journalism."

Three of the hypotheses related to the position of an item in the newspaper; four to typographical presentation of the item; two to writing style; and three to illustration. The thirteenth hypothesis related to spot color in an ad.

The items tested were news stories, ads and headlines.

Each hypothesis was tested two or more times on two or more different days with different samples of readers and different stories, ads or headlines. Separate split-run studies were done on six different days over a 32-day period.

Dr. Rarick used the conventional recognition method of measuring readership with split-run samples that were comparable as to sex, age and education of readers of the Eugene (Ore.) Register-Guard.

The studies were supported by grants from the Register-Guard and the Bureau of Advertising, ANPA.

Dr. Rarick's findings are summarized as follows:

Position

1. *There is no significant difference in readership between left-hand pages and right-hand pages.*

Previous studies have reached the same conclusion, but they were not entirely convincing because they had not controlled the content of the item, position of the item in the newspaper or the matter surrounding the tested items. Dr. Rarick did control these variables.

2. *There is no significant difference in readership between above-the-fold and below-the-fold positions.*

It is content that determines readership of an item, not whether the item is above or below the fold.

3. *Readership of an item is no greater for a well-forward position (near but not on the front page) than it is for a further-back position when the positions are no more than four pages apart. But there probably is at least somewhat greater readership for the well-forward position when the two positions are eight or more pages apart.*

The issue measured by Dr. Rarick contained 26 pages.

Typographical Presentation

4. *Setting the* **body** *of a news story two-column measure rather than single-column measure does not increase readership.*

In this test, the item was under the same two-column headline for both runs. Nothing else on the page was changed.

5. *Setting the body of a news story single-column measure and breaking it into seven columns of type in eight columns of space without column rules (sometimes called the 7-in-8 technique) does not increase the readership of the story as against running it in eight columns with column rules.*

Apparently, the value of this practice is aesthetic.

6. *An inside* **page** *with a six-column or wider headline attracts no more readers than does the same* **page** *with no headline wider than two columns.*

Nor did the larger and longer headlines increase readership of the **items.** See scores under (7) below for the first three news stories.

7. *Increasing the size of the headline on a news story increases the readership of that story up to a point. However, increasing the size of a headline beyond about two columns by two lines of 36-point type does not increase readership.*

In the six tests of this hypothesis, made on three different days, the headline sizes and readership scores of the news stories are shown in the accompanying table.

Story	Smaller Head	Larger Head
Haitian Gov't	2 cols., 2 lines 36 pt. + kicker 25.0%	6 cols., 1 line 48 pt. + deck 22.0%
Nixon Moves to N.Y.	2 cols., 2 lines 36 pt. 51.1%	6 cols., 1 line 48 pt. 45.5%
Romney	2 cols., 2 lines 24 pt. 27.8%	3 cols., 2 lines 36 pt. 26.3%
Rain, Hail Storm	1 col., 3 lines 24 pt. 31.8%	2 cols., 2 lines 36 pt. 42.4%
Helicopter Crash	1 col., 3 lines 24 pt. 30.4%	2 cols., 2 lines 36 pt. 42.4%
Sex Offender Legislation	1 col., 1 line 18 pt. 25.0%	1 col., 3 lines 24 pt. 40.8%

The data show a readership gain when a larger headline is substituted for a small headline (the last three news stories in the table).

Dr. Rarick believes that the findings suggest a new hypothesis, viz., that the optimum headline size for increasing readership is probably about two columns by two lines of 24-point to 36-point type; smaller headlines than those do not attract maximum readership.

Writing Style

8. *A news story gets more readership when both it and the headline are written in narrative style than it does when the story is written in the traditional inverted-pyramid style and the headline is the conventional summary type. However, writing the story in narrative style does not appear to increase the story's readership if the summary type of headline is used.*

The difference in style is shown in the two following stories; the readership of the first story was 27.5%, of the second 55.4%.

Traditional

EWEB
Authorizes Tunnel Repair Work

The Eugene Water and Electric Board Monday authorized extra work to repair a tunnel in the $28.5 million Carmen-Smith hydroelectric project.

The work must be done on a power tunnel that connects the Smith Reservoir with the Carmen powerhouse. It developed cracks during pressure tests this month.

Some leakage was expected, but Engineer E. W. Peterson of Bechtel Corp., project engineering firm, said a loss of 23 cubic feet per second was measured after the tunnel had been in operation for five days. . . .

Narrative

'Stopper' Authorized
For Leaky Tunnel

The Eugene Water and Electric Board's $28.5 million Carmen-Smith hydroelectric project once held the dubious honor of having the "wettest tunnel in the West."

It may now have the leakiest.

Rounded up Monday for a special meeting, board members were told that the power tunnel which connects the Smith Reservoir with Carmen powerhouse developed cracks during pressure tests this month.

Some leakage was expected, but Engineer E. W. Peterson of Bechtel Corp., project engineering firm, said a loss of 23 cubic feet per second was measured after the tunnel had been in operation for five days. . . .

9. *The data do not clearly demonstrate whether or not an editorial gets more readership if its headline is written in narrative or "intrigue" style than if the conventional label headline is used. However, it appears that, if there is a gain in readership, it is slight.*

10. *It is tentatively concluded that a news story gets more readership when it is in juxtaposition with a related photograph than it does when it is in juxtaposition with an unrelated photograph of the same size and of about the same readership.*

To illustrate: For one run, a three-column picture of James R. Hoffa was adjacent to a news story about his union winning a representation election over a rival union. For the second run, a three-column picture of some Catholic sisters playing pool was substituted in the space adjacent to the Hoffa union story.

11. *It is tentatively concluded that the inclusion of a thumbnail photograph of a person who is mentioned in a business news column increases the readership of that column.*

12. *Art (drawings or photographs) tends to increase*

the readership of a newspaper ad, and the more dominant the art the greater the gain appears to be.

In one experiment, in which the art in the illustrated ad was subdued, there was no gain in readership. A considerable increase ensued, however, when the art was dominant or moderately dominant.

Spot Color

13. *The use of spot color in a newspaper ad usually increases the readership of that ad.*

In the first test, a reverse plate headline-illustration was printed in black in one part of the run and in red in the other part. The large increase in readership with addition of color was great enough that it would be expected to occur by chance in the hypothesized direction no more than one time in 100 tests.

In the second test, an ad for a funeral home was printed in black and white in one part of the run. In the other part, the carnation in the ad was printed in red. Again there was an increase in readership, but it was of such a magnitude that it would be expected to occur by chance almost 25 times out of 100.

On the third day, an ad for an appliance store was printed in black and white in one part of the run. In the other part, the entire ad was underprinted in olive green. The increase in readership with the addition of color was so great that it would be expected to occur by chance fewer than five times in 1,000 tests.

Dr. Rarick speculates that "good" black and white ads benefit less from color than do "poor" ones, and his evidence seems to support that hypothesis.

The 13 hypotheses that Rarick tested are not an exhaustive list. Editorial and advertising executives will think of other hypotheses which can be tested by the split-run method.

The foregoing summary is from a 78-page monograph (8½ x 11 format) which reproduces all of the tested items. A better understanding of the findings and the method can be had by examining the reproduced items and pages. The monograph may be obtained from the School of Journalism, University of Oregon, Eugene, Ore., for $2.00 per copy.

A commendable aspect of the research was the excellent cooperation of the editorial, advertising and mechanical staffs of the Register-Guard.

(Galen R. Rarick, Field Experiments in Newspaper Item Readership. 1967)

Research on Alphabet Length, Line Length and Spacing

Dr. Richard H. Wiggins, of Louisiana State University, in 1964, tested the effect on reading speed of lower-case alphabet length; line length of three different 8-point fonts of Regal type; and constant spacing (using thin spaces) versus variable spacing (using spacebands).

The three Regal type fonts were No. 1B TTS with a lower-case alphabet length (a-z) of 110.6 points; No. 1 TTS with a lower-case alphabet of 118.1 points, and No. 2 with a lower-case alphabet length of 126 points.

The three line widths were 10, 11 and 12 picas, thus, nine specimens without leading were used.

The findings were as follows:

1. The type with the shortest lower-case alphabet length was read 3.8% faster than the face with the longest.
2. Reading speed increased as the line length increased—7.7% faster for a 12-pica than for a 10-pica line.
3. The combination read fastest was No. 1B set 12 picas wide; the slowest read was No. 2 set 10 picas wide. The difference in reading speed between these two extremes was 13.3%.

In a second experiment, Regal No. 2 8-point was set solid in five line lengths—10, 14, 19, 24 and 29 picas—and with two spacing arrangements. Thus, ten specimens were tested.

One-half of the specimens were set with thin spaces to give constant spacing and the other five were set with spacebands which produced variable spacing. Constant spacing resulted in an uneven right margin and variable spacing produced even right margins.

The findings were as follows:

1. Text set with constant spacing can be read at about the same speed as text set with variable spacing.
2. Speed of reading increased as the line length increased from 10 through 19 picas, but decreased for 24- and 29-pica lines. The optimum line length (for this 8-point type set solid) was found to be between 14 and 24 picas, and the ideal line length should be between 39 and 52 characters (i.e., from one and one-half to two alphabets).
3. The size of the average space produced by using space bands (i.e., variable spacing) was 108.3% larger than when thin spaces were used to produce constant spacing.

The data from the two experiments imply that wider characters and wider spacing reduce speed of reading because of the eye span. Narrow letters and small spaces enable the eye to see more characters within each eye span. (This reduction, however, could be carried to a point at which the eyes would have difficulty in distinguishing the letter forms).

No definite inferences could be made as to the effect of spacing that produces even and uneven right margins under the condition of these experiments. A different research design would be required for the measurement of effect of spacing as such.

(Richard H. Wiggins. Effects of Three Typographical Variables on Speed of Reading (MS. to be published in the Journal of Typographic Research); "Insight Gained on Effect of Line, Alphabet Length and Spacing on Reading and Comprehension," Iowa Publisher, March, 1966; Ph.D. dissertation, University of Iowa, 1964)

Greater Production for TTS-set Type in 15-Pica Width

Rolufs, of South Dakota State University, conducted an experiment this year which seems to show that a TTS operator can set type 22.7% faster in 15-pica measure than in 11-pica measure.

Twenty-five TTS operators on newspapers in Minnesota, Iowa and South Dakota punched tape for ten minutes, using two different pieces of copy—for five minutes on one line width and for five minutes on the other line width. The copy order was rotated from operator to operator to decrease the possibility of sequence bias.

After the operators had finished, the TTS tape was run through a linecasting machine and proofs were pulled. The proofs were read for errors and hyphenations, and the number of ems of type and the words per hundred ems were determined.

In addition to the finding about output production, Rolufs reported these conclusions:

1. Errors are an operator function and are not related to line width.
2. Hyphenation is related to line width and, by inference, relates in some way to operator speed.
3. Words per 100 ems is not a function of line width, but rather is a function of "set width" of the particular type used.

A previous report of research about line width by J. K. Hvistendahl, of South Dakota State University, is at pp. 72-74 of Volume 1 of "News Research for Better Newspapers," 1966.

(Larry E. Rolufs, "An Analysis of the Production Output Difference Between an 11-Pica and 15-Pica Line Width When Type Is Set by the TTS Method," Master's thesis, South Dakota State University, 1967)

Chapter 2

For summaries of previous research about the subject-matter of this chapter, see Vol. 1, pp. 59-66 and Vol. 2, pp. 55-64

When People Want to Know . . . Where Do They Go to Find Out?

When a national sample of adults was asked "What is the best way to find out?" about 120 news-editorial items, television was the "preferred" medium for finding out about those events which could best be captured by action pictures.

The newspaper was the "preferred" medium for learning about those matters which require explanation and which were not particularly enhanced by visualization.

The items in which people had the highest interest were those which reported some threat in the environment or which related to some problem in the individuals' lives.

Of 120 advertising items, the average item had an interest score three-fourths as high as that of the average news or editorial item.

Editors' estimates of the public's interest in the news-editorial items are also reported.

Opinion Research Corp. interviewed a national probability sample of 1,991 adults (and 479 teenagers) in November 1966, to ascertain what sources people turn to for the information they want on a daily basis. The study was sponsored by the Newsprint Information Committee and was planned and designed by the Bureau of Advertising, ANPA and by Opinion Research Corporation.

The respondents were handed a set of cards containing "statements" and asked to indicate, by means of a sorting board, "the best way to find out about what's on the card." One-half of the statements related to advertising and one-half were one-sentence synopses of news stories, news broadcasts and magazine articles.

There were a total of 120 advertising and 120 news-editorial statements, but each respondent was asked to consider only 24 of the 240 statements.

The statements had been selected from 12 local newspapers of various sizes, in 12 cities, of the same date; all national magazines having one million or higher circulation; 12 television broadcasts and 12 radio broadcasts in each of 12 cities for Nov. 3-4, 1966.

Although the statements do not represent a probability sample of content, they were selected by a random method and are, thus, fairly representative of the information that the adult public could have been exposed to on the specific dates.

Sorting boards were also used by the respondents to indicate their **interest** in the individual statements—a great deal; some interest; a little interest; and no interest. When the responses were weighted, the index of interest for the individual news-editorial statements ranged from a low of 15 to a high of 73.

The study did not report separate scores for men and women: the index scores represent a combination of the sexes. This should be kept in mind when comparing scores on such kinds of information as sports and fashions. *(See Table 2 for the individual items)*.

Categories of Interest

For the purpose of analysis, we have categorized the 120 "news" items as to subject-matter. There are 37 categories *(see Table 1)*. These are subjective classifications: another person who examines the 120 items in Table 2 might use a different system of categorization.

Table 1 shows for each category the average score on the interest index, the number of items in each category (in parentheses), and the number of times each medium was designated by the **most** respondents as the best source for the particular information. When the difference between the two highest media was less than 5 per cent we have assumed there was no significant difference. *(See the last column in Table 1.)*

TABLE 1.

RELATIVE INTEREST IN 37 KINDS OF NEWS ITEMS AND "BEST WAY TO FIND OUT"

	Ave. Score	Newsp.	TV	Radio	Mag.	No Dif.
Accident-Disaster: Ambiguous order (2)	70	0	0	2	0	0
Personal health (4)	66	2	1	0	1	0
U.S. at War (7)	65	0	5	0	0	2
The President: Politics (1)	62	0	1	0	0	0
Accident-Disaster: First order (2)	58	0	1	0	0	1
War: Local angle (4)	56	4	0	0	0	0
Traffic (3)	56	3	0	0	0	0
Children, welfare of (1)	55	1	0	0	0	0
Aerospace (3)	55	0	2	0	0	1
Accident-Disaster: second order (5)	53	1	4	0	0	0
Crime: murder (2)	52	2	0	0	0	0
Consumer prices (3)	52	3	0	0	0	0
Accident-Disaster: third order (1)	51	1	0	0	0	0
Child care (1)	51	0	0	0	1	0
Alcohol (1)	51	1	0	0	0	0
Weather (6)	50	0	6	0	0	0
Fire (3)	50	1	1	1	0	0
Labor: strike (2)	48	0	0	0	0	2
China-Russia (4)	46	1	2	0	0	1

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	Ave. Score	Newsp.	TV	Radio	Mag.	No Dif.
City government (3)	45	3	0	0	0	0
The economy-business (9)	45	8	0	0	0	1
Diplomacy (2)	44	0	0	0	0	2
Transportation (1)	41	1	0	0	0	0
Crime: other than murder (12)	40	11	0	1	0	0
Well-known persons (6)	40	3	2	0	1	0
Practical advice (2)	38	0	0	0	2	0
Education (2)	38	2	0	0	0	0
Science (1)	35	0	1	0	0	0
Homemaking (2)	35	0	0	0	2	0
Foreign politics (2)	33	1	1	0	0	0
Leisure activities (2)	32	0	2	0	0	0
Radio personality (1)	26	0	0	1	0	0
Sports (10)	25	8	0	0	1	1
Local personality: female (1)	25	1	0	0	0	0
Fashion: men (1)	24	1	0	0	0	0
Culture (4)	24	3	0	0	0	1
Fashion: women (2)	19	0	0	0	2	0
Not classified (3)	29	2	0	0	0	1
TOTAL (120)		**64**	**29**	**5**	**10**	**12**

These medium "preferences" are taken from a table which shows the percentage of persons who specified each medium as the best source. For example, for the two items about "Crime: murder," the percentages were as follows (The original table shows that all people do not make choices of one medium over another: there is a considerable overlap for the specific item):

Item:	**Newsp.**	**Mag.**	**TV**	**Radio**
1	53%	3%	19%	14%
2	37	3	32	18
Average	45	3	26	16

(Other sources and don't know responses have been omitted)

Only one of the categories seems to require definition: "Accidents: Disaster." This category was broken down into three sub-categories, depending upon the number of fatalities and amount of property damage mentioned. They are designated as accidents or disasters of the "first order," "second order," and "third order." There is also a fourth sub-category, "ambiguous order" (The item: "There has been an auto accident near the grade school").

The totals at the bottom of Table 1 show the total number of times each medium was "preferred" as the best way to find out. These were: newspaper, 64; television, 29; radio, 5; and magazines, 10. In 12 instances there was no significant difference between the two most preferred media.

What Interests People

Without attempting to develop a complete theory of news interest, we can make certain observations about the interest index scores.

Of the 15 highest categories (all those with an average score higher than 50), nearly all seem to relate either to some perceived threat in the environment or to some problem in the individuals' lives (e.g., personal health, traffic, consumer prices). The "preferred" media for information about these high interest categories total: newspaper, 18; television, 14; radio, 2; and magazine, 1.

The highest interest category—"Accident: Disaster: ambiguous order"—refers to two items, viz., "There has been an auto accident at a grade school around here" (score=72) and "There has been an auto accident near the grade school" (score=67). One can speculate that the intensity of interest can be accounted for by the very ambiguity of the report, the details of which were supplied by the respondents' imagination (e.g., "Was **my** child injured?").

Forty per cent of the respondents said the best way to find out about this accident was from the radio. This compares with newspaper, 24%; television, 14%; family, friends or neighbors, 12%; no medium specified, 12%.

News Generates Anxiety

As Walter Lippmann remarked recently, "The world is a disorderly and dangerous place." Since most of the mass media assist the individual in making a surveillance of his environment by merely reporting what has happened in the world, they generate a great amount of anxiety, especially at certain times.

Dr. Harold Mendelsohn has stated that if the media reported nothing but news of the kind mentioned above, individuals "over long periods of time [would] develop mechanisms of reaction that [would] render them incapable of functioning realistically." ("There's nothing I can do about it, so why bother?").

But this does not happen, he adds, because the media present entertainment and interpretation which seem to "dull the edges of anxiety that are generated by the news."

This statement probably should be amended to read "because the *newspapers* present *interpretation. . . .*" There is reason to believe that television has portrayed the war in Vietnam and some of the race riots in ways that have caused some people to make false evaluations. But the careful newspaper reader has not been victimized by this illusion of such events.

News of Lesser Interest

When we compare the kinds of items which have average scores higher than 50 with the kinds of items which have average scores of 50 or lower, we find the following media "preferences":

	Newsp.	TV	Radio	Mag.
Above 50	18	14	2	1
50 or lower	46	15	3	9
Total	64	29	5	10

One explanation for the difference between the newspaper and television could be that much of the kind of news that is in the top interest categories is of the kind that lends itself to dramatic and spectacular presentation by a visual medium. This "action" kind of news could be the kind that some people have in mind when they say they get "most of their news" from television. Many newspaper-type items are those which require explanation and which are not particularly enhanced by visualization.

The Individual Items

Table 2 reports for each of the 120 items the average score and rank of the item on the weighted interest index (Columns 1 and 2). Column 4 shows the medium which received the highest mention, Column 5 reports the percentage of those respondents who mentioned that medium; thus, for the first item, 40% mentioned television, (which is shown), 32% newspaper, 1% magazine, 18% radio, and 10% no medium.

When the difference between the percentages for the two highest media was less than 5, an asterisk in Columns 4 and 5 indicates there was no significant difference.

Because of its length, Table 2 appears at the conclusion of the regular text, beginning on page 111.

Editors' Estimates of the Public's Interest

Column 3 shows the rank when 52 managing editors estimated the public's interest in each item on the same interest scale. For 11 items editors' estimates are designated as "M" and "F" for one sex only. All other editors' rankings and all of the public's rankings are for the combined sexes.

The correlation of the public's interest and editors' estimates of the public's interest (.33) is 11% better than chance.

Editors underestimated the public's interest in the big stories about the Vietnam war. But they overestimated public interest in some of the stories in which the reader reads in a role (e.g., a hunter reading about the opening day of the deer-hunting season).

The explanation for this difference by Dr. Leo Bogart, vice president and general manager of the Bureau of Advertising, is that newspaper editors "are constantly making judgments on how much space to allocate to stories which may have intense interest for only a small number of readers and how much to stories which have a blander kind of interest for a greater number."

In broadcasting, however, such dilemmas do not exist because it is the **size** of the audience which is all important to the sponsor, not the intense interest of a small minority. The newspaper's strength, therefore, "lies precisely in its capacity to serve diverse and segmented interests."

Of the first 15 highest ranked items by editors, 14 are those which the public said it would most often look for in a newspaper. This suggests that many of the editors were thinking only about the "newspaper" kind of news.

Some of the difference in ranking also might be accounted for by the fact that the editors rated all 120 statements, whereas the respondents were asked about only 12 news-editorial items.

Education Makes Some Difference

Table 3 breaks down by education the respondents' specification of the best source for finding out about all of the 120 items. One of the interesting facts shown in the table is the difference between high school graduates and persons with grade school or less education in the choice of the newspaper as a source of information—40% and 28%. (The percentage of those with "some high school" education who "preferred" the newspaper was 39%.) Possibly, variation in reading skill accounts for the difference.

The percentages shown in Table 3 relate to the **average item.** When looked at another way, the study shows that newspapers were thought to be the best way to find out for 59% **of the statements,** television 29%, magazines 8%, and radio 4%.

TABLE 3.

Best Way to Find Out: By Education

	Grade School or Less	High School Grad.	College Grad.	All Adults
Newspaper	28%	40%	42%	37%
Television	28	26	19	26
Magazine	3	9	12	7
Radio	14	14	14	14
Family, friends, neighbors	3	3	3	3
Don't know	24	8	11	13

Local vs. International, National News

When respondents were asked whether they were personally more interested in what is happening in their own city or town or in the national or international scene, the percentages were as follows:

	All Adults	Men	Women
Own city or town	57%	54%	59%
Nat'l or int'l	45	48	43
No answer	3	2	3

(The percentages total more than 100% because some people mentioned both categories).

Despite the slight preference for local news, several of the highest interest scores were for individual national and international news items.

Interest in Advertising

An analysis of the interest scores for all 240 statements shows that of those ranked in the top half, one-third related to an advertising message. Also, that the average score for advertising statements was three-fourths of the average score for news-editorial statements.

TABLE 2.

Relative Interest in 120 News-Editorial Items, "Preferred" Medium, and Editors' Estimate of Public's Interest

N=newspaper, T=television, R=radio, M=magazine, *=no difference

	WEIGHTED INTEREST INDEX				
	Respondents' Score	Rank	Editors' Rank	Pfd. Medium	Pct.
The U.S. 7th Fleet has bombarded the shore line in Vietnam	73	1	51	T	40
There has been an auto accident at a grade school around here	72	2	—	R	40
A new vaccine is being developed that could put a stop to one of the childhood diseases by next year	70	5	2	N	40
U.S. military leaders in Viet Nam believe that intensive bombings may have stopped a major enemy attack	70	5	31	T	54
A brand of dried food is being ordered removed from stores because it might not be safe to eat	70	5	9	T	36
The local electric utility company was ordered to reduce its rates	68	7	1	N	58
The weather tomorrow will be clear and cool	68	7	20	T	53

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	Respondents' Score	Respondents' Rank	Editors' Rank	Pfd. Medium	Pct.
American ships are seeing action on the North Vietnamese coast	67	9	50	T	40
There has been an accident near the grade school	67	9	28	R	40
The Defense Department reported the shooting down of 2 more jets in North Vietnam	66	10	82	T	43
A local youth was the lone survivor of a North Korean ambush	65	11	3	N	40
Researchers are finding out which viruses cause most colds	64	12	10	*	*
A Yank patrol was ambushed below the Korea armistice line	63	15	45	T	37
A local area soldier safely returns from active duty in Viet Nam	63	15	80	N	54
A fire killed eight men on an aircraft carrier in the Pacific	63	15	33	T	43
The President has criticized foreign policy statements made by a Republican leader	62	17	65	T	41
A world leader is going to have a series of operations	62	17	24	T	53
A news medium takes a stand against inflation in the U.S.	60	19	117	N	46
Patients had to be evacuated from a nearby hospital because of a fire	60	19	36	T	34
Early snowstorms have killed 18 persons in the U.S.	59	24	81	*	*
Traffic signals will be installed at a local intersection by the State Highway Dept.	59	24	79	N	52
The Food and Drug Administration is checking for bacteria in antibiotics	59	24	39	N	46
Women across the country are protesting high prices by not shopping in supermarkets	59	24	14	N	52
The state highway death toll rose by 68 last year	59	24	90	N	40
A soldier from a nearby city was killed in action in Vietnam	58	25	71	N	51

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	Respondents' Score	Respondents' Rank	Editors' Rank	Pfd. Medium	Pct.
A tornado struck a southern state today with several people hurt	57	30	66	T	43
An explosion at a large plant killed one and injured two today	57	30	23	T	34
Unemployment is at its lowest level in eight years	57	30	52	N	47
A missing man and his wife were found murdered at a mountain camp	57	30	21	N	37
The Space-Defense Center keeps track of every man-made object in space	57	30	94	*	*
A total of 14 men have died fighting brush and forest fires in Southern California	56	31	55	T	48
A school for brain-damaged children uses special teaching techniques	55	34	73	N	32
Another space capsule will be launched from Cape Kennedy next week	55	34	84	T	52
Tension is rising in Red China because of the activities of the Red Guard	55	34	26	T	39
Thousands of travelers are stranded because of the worst snowstorm on record in the Midwest	54	38	18	T	42
Brush fires in California destroy many acres	54	38	102	T	42
An avalanche has trapped 200 people in Switzerland	54	38	32	T	38
A new plant for manufacturing defense products will open near here	54	38	12	N	55
The photographs astronauts take help scientists study the earth	53	39	68	T	46
A woman was rescued unhurt from her car which was submerged in a nearby creek	51	43	19	T	42
Record blizzards struck early this year	51	43	49	T	41
A charge has been made that the U.S. is shipping large quantities of liquor to troops in Vietnam	51	43	17	N	43

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	Respondents' Score	Rank	Editors' Rank	Pfd. Medium	Pct.
If a child can think for himself, he can handle emergencies better	51	43	43F	M	35
The Secretary of Defense will confer with the President at his ranch home	50	47	104	T	56
The workers in a large corporation are still on strike with no hope of an early settlement	50	47	97	•	•
Small businesses are getting a larger share of defense contracts	50	47	101	N	55
A nationally-known politician has been sentenced and fined for contempt of court	50	47	4	N	43
Traffic on the highway was held up for two hours today because of a restaurant fire	49	49	44	R	36
Inexperienced motorcycle operators cause a sharp rise in the accident rate	49	49	77	N	48
Russia casts its 104th veto in the United Nations	47	50	111	T	43
An empty rowboat was found, but two local men are missing	46	53	5	N	43
A mother stabs herself and her children in a murder-suicide attempt	46	53	13	N	53
A labor union may call a strike against one of the nation's largest companies	46	53	47	•	•
U.S. and Russia have reached an agreement on direct airline flights between New York and Moscow	45	59	40	•	•
Works of art destroyed by vandals near here	45	59	69	N	47
A foreign government ordered a U.S. diplomat to get out of their country	45	59	54	•	•
The city's mayor said that a Community Center plan will be announced soon	45	59	25	N	48
A new city hall is being promoted by all of our civic organizations	45	59	16	N	50
Students were given a holdiday because of a threatening telephone call	45	59	38	R	31

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	Respondents'		Editors'	Pfd.	
	Score	Rank	Rank	Medium	Pct.
Former President Eisenhower has defended a Republican leader who was criticized by the President	44	61	76	T	44
A local zoning board has put aside requests for rezoning and will consider them later	44	61	85	N	64
A bad snowstorm hits area from Alabama to Michigan	43	67	60	T	47
Scientists are probing the Rockies for oil to increase our dwindling reserves	43	67	100	N	36
A diesel passenger train traveling 75 miles an hour struck and killed a man	43	67	34	N	44
Florida citrus crops have been threatened by a northern cold front	43	67	75	T	41
Two young men in the South are taking a lie detector test in connection with the disappearance of two girls	43	67	53	N	42
A man disappeared from town eight months ago and so far there are no clues to his whereabouts	43	67	61	N	53
A fire in a garage and rear section of a dwelling caused $2,500 damage	42	70	112	N	49
A U.S. ambassador met with the Pope to report on recent Presidential activities	42	70	108	*	*
Stock market experts say that it will remain steady	42	70	37M	N	42
New ideas in trains will lead to faster and better railroad transportation	41	72	78	N	50
An ex-convict was arrested on a burglary charge	41	72	110	N	51
A bandit gets a 20-year sentence for a $2,000 robbery of a finance company	40	74	67	N	25
When you choose plants for the garden, there are a number of things to keep in mind	40	74	88F	M	37
A well-known dictionary reflects a new trend toward accepting slang	39	80	72	N	28

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	Respondents'		Editors'	Pfd.	
	Score	Rank	Rank	Medium	Pct.
A clergyman was found guilty of assault and battery	39	80	15	N	54
A local girl will spend a year in Viet Nam with the Red Cross Clubmobile	39	80	86	N	54
An aging state governor has been reported to be critically ill	39	80	46	N	36
Parents can have fun making toys for their children	39	80	106	M	32
Installment buying should be done in proportion to a family's income	39	80	62	•	•
There will be a school board meeting this afternoon at 2:00 p.m.	38	81	114	N	30
Swedish educators are in favor of sex education programs for teenagers	37	83	35	N	39
A woman was arrested on a charge of embezzlement at a nursing home this morning	37	83	48	N	43
Many of China's top scientists and engineers hold degrees from American universities	36	86	99	N	42
Two trays of diamonds are missing from a local jewelry store	36	86	29	N	42
When checked regularly a heating system lasts from 20 to 30 years	36	86	116	N	29
A stock market average was down slightly at the latest report	35	89	96	•	•
Business firms are still complaining about the lag in mail delivery in a large nearby city	35	89	93	N	52
The Nobel prize for physics went to a French scientist	35	89	83	T	35
The leader of the German government is having political difficulties	34	91	109	N	41
A 51-year-old woman's first pregnancy yields twins	34	91	7	N	45
Undercover detectives raided a coffee house which was being used for gambling	33	92	30	N	45

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	Respondents'		Editors'	Pfd.	
	Score	Rank	Rank	Medium	Pct.
A large company is doing research on methods of packaging	32	95	118	N	38
A woman was sworn in to a cabinet post in one of the new African nations	32	95	115	N	40
Three players from a college football team are sick with a virus	32	95	56M	N	46
The founder of a multi-million dollar business is now on relief because his fortune is tied up	30	97	11	N	50
A race track operator claims he bribed three state legislators	30	97	8	N	42
The second annual cross-country championship will be held this Saturday	29	100	107	N	48
Cookies can be used as ornaments to make an original Christmas tree	29	100	92F	M	48
The cold snap is perfect weather for opening day of the deer-hunting season	29	100	27M	•	•
College students are protesting prices in the snack shop	28	103	57	N	42
A boxing commission orders a champion to defend his boxing title or give it up	28	103	58	N	42
A local charity organization is having a rummage sale	28	103	119	N	47
A local girl is playing with the hockey team in an out-of-town tournament	27	104	91	N	47
A local radio personality is to play at a gathering of young people	26	106	105	R	44
During the Kennedy administration many antiques were acquired by the White House	26	106	103	•	•
The college's leading passer will miss Saturday's football game because of a pulled muscle	25	109	6M	N	45
Two local girls are participating in a sewing contest in Paris this week	25	109	70	N	54

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	Respondents'		Editors'	Pfd.	
	Score	Rank	Rank	Medium	Pct.
There are many new adult games for entertaining at home	25	109	95	T	28
A clothing manufacturer makes men's suits with wider lapels and deep side vents	24	111	98M	N	32
Rare paintings from an out-of-town gallery are being exhibited in the art museum this week	24	111	74	N	45
College students volunteer to remove snow from stadium for the coming game	22	112	64	N	42
At least 70 cars are expected to compete in the race on Sunday	20	113	87	N	45
Feathers are making a comeback in women's high fashion clothing	19	116	42F	M	38
The "pants suit" for women is becoming more popular every day	19	116	22F	M	32
Daily walks can help put a person into condition for skiing	19	116	113	M	23
A well-known actress sews for her entire family	16	118	59F	M	34
The latest James Bond movie was filmed amid wild confusion and at great expense	16	118	89	N	33
250 horses were sold for more than a million dollars at a nearby horse sale	15	120	63	N	50
An American poet is touring Latin America	15	120	120	N	39

(Bureau of Advertising, ANPA, "When People Want to Know . . . Where Do They Go To Find Out?". June, 1967)

When Teenagers Want to Know . . . Where Do They Go to Find Out?

The fifth national study of newspaper reading, done last November-December for the Newsprint Information Committee and the Bureau of Advertising, ANPA, measured the exposure to news of a national probability sample of teenagers. Adults were also interviewed by Opinion Research Corporation.

Teenagers were asked whether they got their news "yesterday" from a newspaper, a television news broadcast, a radio news broadcast, or whether they did not expose themselves to news. Altogether, 89% had some news exposure on the average weekday.

Table 1 shows the exposure to the different media for both teenagers and adults. The percentages are not measures of exposure to the media, but of exposure to the media to obtain news. Respondents were shown a list of items on cards and asked, one card at a time, about "the best way to find out about what's on the card."

TABLE 1.

YESTERDAY'S EXPOSURE TO NEWS FOR COMBINATION OF MEDIA

	Teenagers	Adults
Total newspaper	68%	78%
Total radio	54	55
Total television	37	60
Newspaper only	16	12
Television only	6	6
Radio only	11	5
Newspaper and radio only	25	17
Newspaper and tv only	13	21
Television and radio only	4	5
All three media	14	28
No exposure to media news yesterday	11	6

(The percentages add to more than 100 because respondents were exposed to several media)

The grand totals for all media are 159% for teenagers and 193% for adults. These indicate the extent to which people use one medium to supplement other media for obtaining news.

Advertising as "News"

Respondents were asked whether they agreed or disagreed with these statements: "When I pick up a newspaper/magazine (turn on television/radio) I look forward to the ads (commercials)."

Table 2 shows the percentage of those who agreed.

TABLE 2.

PERCENTAGES WHO AGREED WITH THESE STATEMENTS: "WHEN I PICK UP A NEWSPAPER/MAGAZINE (TURN ON TELEVISION/RADIO) I LOOK FORWARD TO THE ADS (COMMERCIALS)"

	12-14	15-17	18-20	Adults
Newspaper	44%	54%	60%	67%
Magazine	47	54	70	56
Television	29	17	24	25
Radio	*	*	*	20

*The study did not report the responses by teenagers.

This question was also asked: "Suppose there were no ads at all in the newspaper/no television commercials, but everything else was exactly the same as it is now. Do you think the newspaper/television would be more satisfying to you personally in your life, less satisfying, or just about the same?"

The percentages of those who said "less satisfying" are shown in Table 3 for teenagers and adults.

TABLE 3.

PERCENTAGE WHO ANSWERED "LESS SATISFYING" IF NEWSPAPERS AND TELEVISION PROGRAMS HAD NO ADS

	12-14	15-17	18-20	Adults
Newspaper	46%	48%	65%	63%
Television	21	18	26	20

For many years it has been believed that most newspaper readers appreciate the kind of information that is supplied by advertisements. Table 3 seems to provide a measure of the extent to which this belief is confirmed. It also shows that the older teenagers value advertisements to about the same extent that adults do.

(When People Want to Know . . . Where Do They Go to Find Out?, 1967)

When Evening Newspaper Is Read

When Belden Associates (Dallas) interviewed housewives for the Houston Chronicle's Continuing Market Study, they asked when they read the evening newspaper. The results were as follows:

Noon to 6 p.m.	28%
6 p.m. to 8 p.m.	33
8 p.m. to 10 p.m.	19
After 10 p.m.	8
Before 8 a.m.	3
8 a.m. to noon	9
	*105

*Some housewives read the paper in more than one time period
(The Houston Chronicle Continuing Market study of Metropolitan Houston, 1966-67)

Media Use in Presidential Election Campaigns

By

Maxwell McCombs and Walter Wilcox
University of California, Los Angeles

Secondary analysis of statistics concerned with newspaper VS. television as the primary news medium brings into serious question the assumption that the broadcast media have eroded the newspaper audience.

The analysis provides convincing evidence that the comparison of the newspaper to television lacks validity, as comparing apples to pears or sheep to goats. Further, it creates doubts that audiences themselves are comparable, as in Paul Lazarsfeld's studies which show that heavy consumers of one medium are likely to be heavy consumers of another, and that there is no such thing as a neat separation of media audiences. And third, the data raise a question about the role of the various media in terms of the kind of information they carry, and the consequent pitfalls in creating a direct confrontation.

The analysis involved: (1) interpretation of the survey research statistics themselves, and (2) examination of the validity of the questions asked the news consumer public.

The Michigan Survey Research Center data cover four presidential election studies done from 1952 to 1964, a period of 12 years. Two questions were asked about media use during the national election campaign. The point is not the relative standing of the newspaper, but rather the trend over the 12-year period. (In this era of electronic campaigning, questions about political campaigns tend to enhance the advantage of the broadcast media. Election campaigns carry heavy loadings of drama, conflict and visibility, appeals suited to television.)

TABLE 1

Question: "Of all these ways of following the campaign which *one* would you say you got the most information from?"

	1952 N=1557*	1956 N=1595*	1960 N=1729*	1964 N=1372*	Net Change 1952-64
Newspapers*	25%	27%	24%	25%	0
Television*	34	54	63	60	+26
Radio*	30	12	6	4	—26
TV Households**	37	70	88	90	+53

*Source: Survey Research Center, University of Michigan.
**Source: Bureau of the Census.

(Note: Some respondents gave some other medium as the source of "most" news, e.g., but these were minimal and are not included in the total.)

The data in Table 1 show that:

—The newspaper held steady across the 12 years. (The minor variation is undoubtedly due to sampling error.)

—Television quite obviously appropriated its share of gain from radio. The possibility that television gained from the newspaper which in turn restored its loss from radio seems remote.

—Television failed to keep pace with the gain in the percentage of households with television sets. It leveled off at a point in time between 1954 and 1960, whereas the household set percentage continued to rise.

—In the same period radio almost went out of business as a primary source for election news, slumping from an advantage over the newspaper to a minimal 4% as the primary medium.

What do these figures mean? Unfortunately, the data do not probe for reasons. But some inferences are tenable. Aligning broadcasting against the newspaper, at least on the basis of a question such as this one, is probably an error of comparison, of aligning unlike things. In changing media patterns over the 12 years, the newspaper seems to have remained isolated, unaffected, stabilized, whereas television fed from radio. The logical comparison then, is television to radio. Television cannot be said to have made inroads into the newspaper, which did not have the audience preference in the first place.

Within the context of the question asked, the audience preferences seem to have reached a state of equilibrium. Table 1 shows that the relative preference for broadcast and newspaper election news has held steady for about ten years.

Further data were extracted from a second series of questions in the same Survey Research Center studies. These data, also concerned with election campaigns, measured the proportion of the audience in terms of whether they had obtained any (rather than most) information from the various media. The data are given in Table 2.

TABLE 2

The question was not the same for each year. Generally, it was: "Did you (watch, read, listen) about the campaign in . . .?"

Data: Percentage of those answering **"NO."**

	1952	1956*	1960	1964	Net Change 1952-64
Newspapers	21	31	21	22	+ 1
Television	49	26	13	11	–38
Radio	30	55	58	62	+32
Magazine	60	69	59	61	+ 1

*For the year 1956, the respondents were given a simple yes/no alternative whereas in other years they were given such alternatives as "not very much" and "from time to time." This probably resulted into forcing more respondents into the "No" category in 1956 than for the other years.

Unfortunately, the questions were not the same for each year and it is necessary to present the figures negatively, that is, those who answered "no," as further explained in Table 2. The patterns are roughly the same (newspapers stable, television drawing from radio) with one added dimension: the magazine, as the newspaper, tended to remain stable, providing another bit of evidence that the changing pattern is in fact within the broadcast media and not cross-media.

Probing the relative validity of the question itself is somewhat more difficult. What does a question really mean to the respondent? The Survey Center questions on media preference forced the respondent to select only one medium. Yet Lazarsfeld's early election campaign studies found that media use was supplementary. Elmo Roper's recent surveys for the Television Information Office did allow respondents to make more than one choice. While this change in the question will result in changes in the absolute percentage selecting television or newspapers, the crucial comparison is the change in preference over time for a particular medium.

TABLE 3

Question: "First, I would like to ask you where you get most of your news about what's going on in the world today—from the newspapers or radio or television or magazines or talking to people or where?"

Source of most news	**1959 %**	**1961 %**	**1963 %**	**1964 %**	**Net Change 1959-1964**
Television	51	52	55	58	+7
Newspapers	57	57	53	56	—1
Radio	34	34	29	26	—8
Magazines	8	9	6	8	0

*Source: Television Information Office, 666 Fifth Avenue, New York: "The Public's View of Television and Other Media, 1959-1964," (A Report of Five Studies by Elmo Roper and Associates, March 15, 1965).

The patterns in Table 3 show television gaining at the expense of radio with the newspaper remaining constant, as in the Survey Research Center studies. But the key to the response may well be in the question itself, specifically the phrase "in the world."

George Gallup, reporting on 1,644 respondents interviewed in 1960, first asked: "Where do you get most of your information about what's going on in the world?" (Multiple responses were allowed.) The results:

Newspapers	61%
Television	53%
Radio	21%
Magazines	19%

The newspaper and television figures correspond generally with those of Roper (Table 3) but the magazine and radio figures differ to a degree beyond that of chance. Why? Could it be that the Roper question specifically mentioned radio and magazines whereas the Gallup question did not?

But back to the key phrase "in the world." Gallup asked another question: "Where do you get most of your information about what's going on here locally?" (Again, multiple responses were allowed.)

Newspapers	72%
Television	22%
Radio	21%

Thus, a pronounced difference was evoked by the phrase "in the world" as opposed to "here locally."

The data, cast as they are here, probably point out two object lessons: 1) the complex patterns of media roles are not easily measured by simple survey research questions, and 2) cross-media comparisons are especially susceptible to errors of interpretation.

Type of Residence Affects College Students' Communication Behavior

Dr. Maxwell E. McCombs early in 1967 conducted a study of the communication behavior of students at the University of California at Los Angeles, using a random sample of 816 students. He reported his findings by the students' type of residence.

Most of the students read a newspaper every day or almost every day, and there were no great differences as to type of residence. But the amount of time spent reading the newspaper on a given day varied considerably by type of residence, as shown in Table 1.

TABLE 1. TIME SPENT READING THE NEWSPAPER

	More Than 30 Mins.
Dormitory	44.9%
Frat./sorority	30.9
Parents' home	57.9
Own home/apt.	61.5

Even greater differences were found as to tv viewing. The first column in Table 2 reports the combined percentages of those who looked at tv every day or almost every day, and the second column shows the percentage who saw a news program or documentary "in the past week."

TABLE 2. TV VIEWING BEHAVIOR

	Frequency of Use	Saw Tv News
Dormitory	9.4%	28.5%
Frat./sorority	11.6	29.5
Parents' home	66.9	75.5
Own home/apt.	43.1	52.8

Most of the students who had their own home or apartment were probably graduate students, who represented 36.1% of the whole sample.

About two-thirds of the students said they listened to radio every day, but their listening was nearly always incidental to driving, studying or doing housework.

About one-fourth of the students subscribed to a news magazine and almost an equal proportion read somebody else's copy. This is about the same proportion who said they had viewed a tv news or documentary "in the last week" (51.1%).

The parts of the newspaper which *all* students reported they usually read are shown in Table 3.

TABLE 3. READING OF PARTS OF THE NEWSPAPER

Front page	19.2%
Entertainment	18.0
Sports	17.0
General news	15.5
Nat'l, int'l news	7.3
City news	1.8
Editorial	14.8
Financial	2.0
Family	4.0

For a previous report on the newspaper reading behavior of college students, see "News Research for Better Newspapers," Vol. 1, p. 65.

(Maxwell E. McCombs, Mass Communication on the Campus," UCLA Communications Board, 1967)

Change in Media Use in Sacramento

In a profile-of-the-audience study of readers of the Sacramento (Calif.) Union done in July-August 1966 by Anthony J. Scantlen of Copley International Corp. (sample=752), readers were asked about the amount of time devoted to newspapers, radio and television "as compared with a year ago at this time."

The findings were as follows:

	Newsp.	Radio	Tv
Spending less time now	7.3%	20.9%	38.9%
Spending about the same amount of time now	69.3	52.8	45.9
Spending more time now	23.3	21.9	13.7
Don't know	0.1	4.4	1.5
	100.0	100.0	100.0

A summary of a similar study done in Aurora, Ill. in 1965 was reported in "News Research for Better Newspapers," Vol. 2, p. 62.

(The Sacramento Market: A Profile of the Sacramento Union Audience)

Most Educational Television Viewers Are Print-oriented

Dr. Wilbur Schramm of Stanford University studied the educational television audience in 1966 on behalf of National Educational Television, an association of ETV stations.

In one phase of the study, all members of the family in four geographical areas were interviewed in the home. These families were a sub-sample of a larger number which had been identified in telephone coincidental surveys as ETV viewers.

One of the questions was: "If there were no television, radio, magazines or newspapers, which one of these four things do you think you would miss most?"

The findings for families in San Francisco and Georgia (viewers of WGTU at Athens) were as follows:

	San Francisco		Georgia	
	Male	Female	Male	Female
Newspapers	60%	41%	22%	29%
Magazines	19	16	9	4
Television	13	23	50	48
Radio	8	21	19	19

The San Francisco sample had a larger than usual proportion of persons educated beyond the bachelor's degree and the Georgia sample had a somewhat larger proportion of grade school-educated persons. The table above seems to show that preference for the newspaper is closely related to educational achievement.

The interviewers also asked all persons in the sub-sample "What would you miss most about television (radio, magazines, newspapers)?" The results are in Table 1.

TABLE 1

MALE	TV	Radio	Mags.	Newsps.
News	29%	29%	45%*	47%
Entertainment	19	—	—	—
Specials	16	—	—	—
Sports	16	—	—	—
Movies	9	—	—	—
Educ. Television	5	—	—	—
Music	—	42	—	—
Financial	—	—	—	8
Editorials, columns	—	—	—	6
Comics	—	—	—	5
Science, prof. info.	—	—	11	—
General information	—	—	11	—
Features	—	—	8	6
Other	—	7	10	10
Nothing	10	6	17	5
FEMALE				
News	38%	34%	30%*	69%
Entertainment	9	—	—	—
Specials	9	—	—	—
Movies	6	—	—	—
Educ. Television	29	—	—	—
Dramas, serials	9	—	—	—

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FEMALE	TV	Radio	Mags.	Newsps.
Music	—	49	—	—
Comics	—	—	—	6
General information	—	—	6	—
Features	—	—	16	8
Homemaking	—	—	20	—
Other	—	8	—	10
Nothing	—	9	24	6

*Includes current events

The answers tell us something about which aspects of each medium are most highly valued by well educated persons.

Dr. Schramm had conducted a similar study in 1961. In 1966, he found, in telephone coincidental surveys of several thousand households, that the audience for ETV had doubled since 1961.

He also found that most viewers were reasonably well educated and are in professional and white collar occupations.

In Pittsburgh, for example, he found that almost half of those with education beyond the bachelor's degree watched ETV once a week as compared with only 13 per cent of those with a grade school education. Patterns in other cities were similar

Dr. Schramm also found that the mother in the family was the most likely viewer of ETV, followed by the father, with the children viewing least.

(Wilbur Schramm, The Audience for Educational Television: A Report to National Educational Television, February, 1967)

Denver Teenagers' Communication Behavior

One thousand teenagers answered a questionnaire last October in connection with the Denver (Colo.) Post's annual consumer analysis. They reported their newspaper reading and viewing and listening behavior as follows:

	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
Read Post yesterday	83%	77%	82%	71%
Viewed television	80	84	84	82
Listened to radio	—	85	—	89

All respondents (7,260 adults and 1,000 teenagers) were asked how long they had looked at television "yesterday" and the teenagers were asked how long they had listened to radio "yesterday." The median time for each group was as follows:

	TV	Radio
Men	1 hr., 55 mins.	—
Boys	1 hr., 46 mins.	1 hr., 31 mins.
Women	2 hrs., 6 mins.	—
Girls	1 hr., 46 mins.	2 hrs., 16 mins.

The teenagers were also asked, "About how much money do you spend each month for entertainment such as movies, etc.?' The per cent who spent more than $5 a month is reported by age groups as follows:

	Boys	Girls
13 years	16%	14%
14 years	33	27
15 years	42	24
16 years	66	44
17 years	84	43
All	49	31

When teenagers were asked, "Do you personally own any of the following?" the results were as follows:

	Boys	Girls
Record player	45%	58%
Records	78	91
Musical instruments	52	42
Radio (not transistor)	64	63
Television set	22	18
Car	10	5

This question was also asked of teenagers: "If you were given an award in school, where would you most like to have it reported?" The answers were:

	Boys	Girls
Newspaper	61%	72%
Television	30	20
Radio	10	8

(The Denver (Colo.) Post Teenage Study. October, 1966.)

Media Behavior of St. Louis Teenagers

The Bureau of Advertising, ANPA, in cooperation with the St. Louis (Mo.), Post-Dispatch and Washington University, in March, 1966, studied the media behavior of a sample of 764 St. Louis junior and senior high school students. The questionnaire was self-administered in selected schools.

Media behavior varies some with age, as shown in Table 1. As the child became older he read the newspaper more and did less television viewing.

TABLE 1. MEDIA BEHAVIOR: BY AGE

	12-14	15-16	17 and older
Boys			
Read newspaper yesterday*	70%	70%	76%
Viewed TV yesterday	92	85	69
Listened to radio yesterday	75	88	93
Read magazines regularly	74	79	76
Girls			
Read newspaper yesterday*	68%	67%	77%
Viewed TV yesterday	91	89	78
Listened to radio yesterday	83	80	84
Read magazines regularly	77	85	82

*89% of the boys and 90% of the girls said they had read last Sunday's paper.

Table 2 shows the variation of media behavior by socio-economic neighborhood status of the schools. Newspaper reading increased with the increase in socio-economic status while television viewing declined. Of those who viewed television yesterday (85% of all students), one-fourth did not view television news (not shown in Table 2).

TABLE 2. MEDIA BEHAVIOR: BY NEIGHBORHOOD STATUS

	Lower Middle/ Lower	Middle	Upper Upper/ Middle
Read newspaper yesterday	65%	74%	75%
Viewed TV yesterday	85	89	79
Viewed TV news yesterday	64	62	63
Listened to radio yesterday	81	83	89
Read magazine yesterday	73	77	87

The students were also asked: "If you were given an award in school, where would you most like to have it reported?" The answers were as follows:

	Boys	Girls	Total
Newspaper	49%	64%	57%
Television	48	29	38
Radio	6	9	8
No answer	2	2	2

Table 3 shows the parts of the newspaper that the students said they usually read.

TABLE 3. PARTS OF NEWSPAPER USUALLY READ

	Boys	Girls
Comics	90%	93%
Front page	81	78
Movies, entertainment	75	82
Sports	77	40
Personal advice column	33	73
Local news	48	49
Radio, TV listings	46	50
Store ads	29	48
Weather	39	40
National news	38	35
International news	32	28
Classified ads	31	18
Games, Crossword puzzle	21	27
Letters to editor	18	26
Women's page	2	38
Food and recipes	2	22
Business, finance, stocks	12	22
Obituary	6	9
Bridge	2	2
No answer	6	1

The students answered six batteries of questions to measure certain attitudes and orientations. Only one set of questions, however, differentiated the students by media behavior. Those questions were designed to determine the maturity of the students' goals. The only medium which differentiated was the newspaper. Of those who had read a newspaper in three of the last five days, 75% had mature goals and 65% had less mature goals. No differences were found among users of other media.

(Bureau of Advertising, Communications Media and High School Youth: A Study of Exposure Habits, March, 1967)

How Is the Church Page Used?

"Do you use the information in the church page to help determine if you will go to church on Sunday and what church you will attend?"

This question was asked of 174 residents of Riverside, Calif. in 1962 by Charles A. Oliphant in a mail questionnaire. The results were as follows:

	Church Members	Non-members	Total
Use it often	7.0%	3.1%	6.3%
Use it now and then	11.3	15.6	12.1
Never use it	81.7	81.3	81.6

Oliphant interviewed 17 ministers in Riverside most of whom thought the functions of the church page were to "encourage people to attend church" and to "attract people to the church."

Oliphant was very critical of the quality of editorial copy supplied by the ministers.

He did not ask about the readership of the church page. Other studies, however, suggest that a good many more people read the pages than "use" them for the reasons specified by the Riverside residents (See "News Research for Better Newspapers," Vol. 2, p. 34.

(C. E. Oliphant, "Functions of a Newspaper Church Section as Seen by Editor, Clergy and Public." Master's thesis, University of California, Los Angeles, 1962)

Chapter 3

For summaries of previous research about the subject-matter of this chapter, see Vol. 1, pp. 21-35 and Vol. 2, pp. 7-28.

The Demand for Business News

The director of the Business Communications Program at the University of Missouri, a former business editor, reports the results of a survey of 162 business-financial editors about reader demand, staffing, salaries and complaints.

Hubbard, in 1966, queried 162 business-financial editors of daily newspapers. Eighty-one per cent stated that their readers' demands for business news had increased "substantially" since 1960. Twenty-seven per cent estimated that this demand had "more than doubled."

The heaviest increase in demand was by readers of newspapers in the 15,000-100,000 circulation class: 33% of the business-financial editors of such newspapers believed that reader interest had more than doubled since 1960.

Some confirmation of this increase in interest is found in the increase in the number of shareholders in cities of corresponding size as reported in the New York Stock Exchange's "Census of Shareowners" for 1956 and 1965, as shown below.

City size:	Percentage of Individual Shareowners 1956	1965
Over 500,000	19.9	19.8
100,000-500,000	16.0	16.9
25,000-100,000	14.0	22.7
2,500-25,000	13.4	29.8
Rural areas	17.9	10.8

Hubbard also inquired as to the size of business-financial staffs. His findings are reported below (the figure in parentheses is the number of newspapers in each class which responded to his questionnaire.)

Circulation size:	Avg. No. of News Employees	Avg. No. on Business Desk	% of Total on Business Desk
Under 15,000 (24)	11.0	1.16	10.55%
15-50,000 (44)	23.8	1.10	4.62
50-100,000 (33)	47.8	1.50	3.14
100-200,000 (28)	90.0	2.54	2.82
200-350,000 (20)	130.0	5.42	4.17
Over 350,000 (15)	341.0	6.30	1.85

Hubbard inquired about salaries and estimated the salary cost for the business-financial page by multiplying the average reported salary of a man with five years of experience by the reported number of business-financial page employees. The figures below are what he calls a "very rough estimate."

Under 15,000	$ 7,790
15,000-50,000	7,820
50,000-100,000	11,400
100,000-200,000	20,800
200,000-350,000	47,200
Over 350,000	53,250

Seventy-six per cent of the business-financial editors believe their efforts to improve the quality and quantity of business coverage is severely handicapped by circumstances outside their control. These are:

1. Lack of cooperation from business.
2. Lack of space.
3. Lack of time.
4. Lack of a qualified staff. This seems to mean that some business-financial editors feel they could do a better job if they were freed from numerous routine tasks that an intelligent trainee could handle.
5. Lack of funds.
6. Management obstruction. This means mainly that news editors and city editors improperly evaluate certain business stories.
7. Pressure by corporations and advertisers to distort news. This includes "musts" from the advertising department.

For an earlier discussion of the audience for business-financial news, see Vol. I of ANPA "News Research for Better Newspapers," pp. 21-25. For a report on readership of stock quotations, [illegible] Vol. II of "News Research for Better Newspapers," p. 51.

(T. W. Hubbard, "The Explosive New Demand for Business News," Journalism Quarterly, 43: 703-708, Winter, 1966)

What Kind of People Have Knowledge of Foreign Events?

Several studies have shown that education and media use are predictors of people's knowledge of foreign events. Chu and Lingwood, of Stanford University, this year tested several psychological and sociological variables as predictors on a probability sample of 283 male adults in three northern California communities.

They administered a questionnaire to test knowledge and related the results to a series of questions which measured aspects of the personality structure and social interaction of the respondents.

By correlation analysis, they found the following were predictors. These are ranked in the order in which they explain the variance they accounted for in the analysis:

1. Education—a demographic variable.
2. Time spent reading magazines.
3. "Conservatism," which is negatively related to knowledge of foreign events. It is defined as a measure of "conventionality, orientation toward the past, and religiosity". Chu and Lingwood state that "conservatives" are highly motivated *not* to learn about foreign events lest their own isolationist views be threatened by the acquired knowledge.
4. "Authoritarianism," which is also negatively related to knowledge of foreign events. It is a kind of mental rigidity. It was found that "authoritarians" and "conservatives" knew less about foreign events than did other persons of the same education and who used media to the same degree.
5. Those who have foreigners as friends—a sociological variable.
6. Time spent reading newspapers.

Amount of time spent watching television was not related to knowledge of foreign events because the correlation Chu and Lingwood found was entirely attributable to the fact that people of higher education spent less time viewing television.

Other variables tested were found not to be predictors of knowledge of foreign events. Some of these were age, foreign travel, and membership in social clubs and associations.

The variables which correlated positively with time spent reading a newspaper were education, occupational status, income, age, frequency of foreign travel, and membership in social clubs and associations. The psychological variables—"authoritarianism" and "conservatism"—were inversely related to time spent reading newspapers.

(Godwin C. Chu and David Lingwood, "Some Psychological and Sociological Predictors of Foreign Events Knowledge." Paper presented at annual meeting of the Association for Education in Journalism, August 28, 1967)

How Much Do Readers Know? (XI)

A study conducted for the Associated Press and the Associated Press Managing Editors Association by Carl J. Nelson Research, Inc. in October 1966 asked a sample of readers in 50 cities to define 10 terms and place names connected with World War II.

Respondents were persons 21 to 30 years old (born between 1936 and 1945) who had attended college.

The percentage who defined correctly the most unfamiliar terms were:

	Men	Women
Stuka	68%	55%
Munich	60	50
Snafu	78	67

The other terms, which were understood by 81% to 97% of the respondents, were: Dunkirk, blitz, gestapo, blackout, GI, gobbledy-gook and concentration camp.

How Much Do Readers Know? (XII)

The Gallup Poll, in June, 1950, asked its national sample of respondents to define several terms and phrases currently in the news. The percentage of "reasonably correct" definitions were as follows:

"Flying saucers"	94%
Universal military training	75
Bookie	68
Wire tapping	67
Tariff	67
Monopoly	64
Cold War	58
Filibuster	54
Welfare state	36
Electoral college	34
Hoover Commission reports	31
Reciprocal trade agreements	29
Bipartisan foreign policy	26
President Truman's Point Four program	5

For summaries of previous research about the subject-matter of this chapter, see Vol. 1, pp. 36-47 and Vol. 2, pp. 29-41.

The News Summary and Index

Two studies examine the readership and use of the news summary and index.

One study shows that it is the thorough reader who reads it.

The second study reports how, when and why some readers use the "News Summary and Index" of the New York (N.Y.) Times.

Many newspapers publish some kind of index. Some publish a news summary and some a combined summary and index.

The summaries vary from a brief piece of editorial promotion on Page one plugging a new feature to the full-page summary of the Los Angeles (Calif.) Times.

The Wall Street Journal for many years has published two news summaries. One summarizes general news, which does not appear in the paper; the second summarizes business and financial news which is published in the issue. Neither summary, however, cites page references; they are not indexes. The Wall Street Journal's objective is obvious. It is a "busy man's" newspaper; press capacity of all editions is purposely limited to 32 pages.

The Los Angeles Times' full page "News of the Day" on Page 2 summarizes about 65 news stories under seven or eight headings and uses two to four pictures. Some of the stories in the summary do not appear elsewhere in the paper. The summary is not an index—except that readers are referred to three sections (business-financial, sports and "The Southland").

Summary Is Read by Thorough Reader

The St. Louis (Mo.) Globe-Democrat publishes on Page one "Top of the Morning—Inside Today's Globe." In the May 19, 1966 issue seven news stories and two columns were summarized briefly and page references were cited. Carl Nelson Research, Inc. did a readership study of the issue. The readership scores for the summary and index were: Men 29%, women 27%.

ANPA requested the Nelson firm to supply readership scores of the cited items broken down by those who had read the summary and index and those who had not read it.

The accompanying table reports these scores and also the scores for all readers.

ITEM SCORE (MEN)

Page Ref.	Read Summary (29%)	Did Not Read Summary (71%)	All Readers
3A	39	16	23
9B	17	2	6
2A	33	16	21
6C	11	5	7
3C	25	5	13
4A	22	11	14
14A	22	11	14
1B	38	25	26
3D	51	29	36

ITEM SCORE (WOMEN)

Page Ref.	Read Summary (27%)	Did Not Read Summary (73%)	All Readers
3A	27	8	13
9B	27	2	9
2A	37	13	19
6C	9	3	5
3C	18	3	9
4A	30	5	12
14A	22	6	11
1B	76	63	63
3D	16	4	7

3A—Marines, Viet Cong Battle in Valley
9B—Blast Rocks Canada Commons
2A—Gemini 9 Space Flight Rescheduled
6C—Will Require Race Data: Wirtz Changes Job Policy
3C—Workhouse Cellblock Receives a Reprieve
4A—Culver-Stockton College Rejects $178,188 Grant
14A—Red Respectability Drive (Riesel)
1B—Alcoholic Housewives: Why Do They Drink?
3D—The Bench Warmer (sports column)

As the table shows, four of the scores on the individual items of men who read the index were higher than their score on the summary and index. Five were lower. Three of the women's scores on the individual items were higher than their score on the summary and index, four were lower and two were the same.

The table also shows that, for every item, the readership was considerably higher for those who had read the summary and index than for those who had not read it.

We cannot, however, infer any cause-and-effect relationship between reading the summary and index and reading the individual items—although there may have been some effect. All we can infer is that **it is the thorough reader who reads the summary and index.**

This seems to be confirmed by the "Any ad on Page" readership on the cited pages, which is one-third higher for those who read the summary and index.

Apparently, few readers will seek further details in a cited news story when the subject-matter doesn't interest them. This seems to be shown by the low readership scores by readers of both sexes of the summary and index of the item on Page 6-C. When, on the other hand, readers want to read more details in a particular news story, their score exceeds their summary and index score, as shown for the items on Pages 2A, 1B and 3D (men only).

Display also may be a factor in the readership of the story on Page 1B; this story, "Alcoholic Housewives: Why Do They Drink?," with seven columns of art, occupies more than 60% of the space on the first page of the second section.

That a well-displayed and interesting story will be read by a good many readers, whether or not they have read the index and summary, is shown in the table below, which reports a readership study of the Salem (Ore.) Capital Journal (July 22) by Dr. Galen Rarick.

ITEM SCORE (MEN)

Page Ref.	Read Summary (32%)	Did Not Read Summary (68%)	All Readers
3*	48	21	30
15**	82	50	61
28***	61	34	44

ITEM SCORE (WOMEN)

Page Ref.	Read Summary (45%)	Did Not Read Summary (55%)	All Readers
3	26	13	18
15	83	54	67
28	50	23	34

* Had 7-column head top of page
** Top half of section page with art
*** Top half of last page with art

Fewer women read the story on Page 3 than read the index. The story is an interview with an engineer mainly about the new radial tire—a story that is not calculated to interest women.

Display and Youth Index

Few inferences, based merely on the readership scores we now have, can be made about the relationship of display to readership of the index. The Wichita (Kan.) Eagle, for example, publishes "Today's Youth Index" at the top of Page two. It is a summary and index. The logotype has a drawing of a girl's head. In an Aug. 25, 1966 issue, measured by Carl Nelson Research, Inc., the readership was boys 7%, girls 27%. Scores on the individual stories seem to be determined by the subject matter more than by the display.

Nor is there any apparent relationship between readership of the summary and index and readership of the individual stories. Although only 7% of the boys read the summary and index, 35% read the cited sports story. A news story with an 8-column head, "Military 'Salvage' Plan to Delay Drafting of Some 1-A's" was read by only 8% boys and 8% girls.

How and When Used

Some indication as to how, when and why a news summary is used is supplied by a study done for the New York (N.Y.) Times in October, 1965 by Bennett-Chaikin, Inc.

The Times publishes a "News Summary and Index" on the first page of the second section (in addition to a brief index on Page one). About one dozen important news stories are summarized in two sentences of seven or eight lines each and about 75 stories and articles are summarized in one sentence headline-type capsules. The page number is supplied for both kinds of summaries. Thus, it is more of an index than a summary.

The Times, of course, is a bulky and complete newspaper published for a serious and well-educated audience. The "News Summary and Index," therefore, has high usage, as the table below shows:

Every day	20%
Practically every day	23
Occasionally	32
Hardly ever, practically never	17
Never, not familiar with it	8
	100

When asked "How do you usually go about reading the Times?", however, only seven per-cent said they started with the "News Summary and Index."

The amount of the "News Summary and Index" which is read is shown in the table below:

Read it thoroughly	12%
Read most of it	15
Look for things that interest me	28
Skim through it	20
Never refer to it	25
	100

The frequency with which the "News Summary and Index" is read is related to the amount of it that is read. This is shown in the following table, which refers only to respondents who said they used the "News Summary and Index." It shows that those who read it most often are those who read it most thoroughly.

HOW INDEX IS READ:	READ SUMMARY AND INDEX		
	Every Day	Practically Every Day	Occasionally
Go through it thoroughly	39%	10%	3%
Read most of it	25	36	6
Look for things that interest me	29	39	50
Skim through it	7	13	39
	100	100	100

Why Used

The Times survey asked this question of all readers in the sample: "How do you usually use the "News Summary and Index," That is, for what purpose or reasons do you refer to it?"

The answers were in two different frames of reference. One kind of answer specified reasons for using the "News Summary and Index"; a second kind of answer referred to when it was used. In the table below, the responses total more than 100% because some readers gave both kinds of answers and/or specified more than one reason.

Why:	
Use it when in a hurry, to save time	16%
To see if I have missed anything of importance	21
Use it as an index to find location of articles	4
To familiarize myself with things of importance	11
To familiarize myself with news events	13
Order of use:	
After I have finished the paper	10
Read index first	7
Read it when I come to it	6
Read it after the first page	2
Read it after the finance section	2
Don't read it	8

The survey also asked this question of all readers in the sample: "Are there any particular items, features or sections that you look for with the help of the News Summary and Index?" The answers, which total more than 100%, were as follows:

	Men	Women
Women's page, home, fashions, foods	1%	22%
Financial	16	4
Sports	14	3
Theater, reviews	6	10
Entertainment, amusement	6	14
Int'l and nat'l news	10	4
Metropolitan news (general)	1	12
Others	18	27
None that I can think of	52	46
Don't read it, not familiar with it	9	8

Summary

Apparently, there are at least three kinds of readers of the "News Summary and Index" (about 28% of St. Louis Globe-Democrat readers and perhaps one-half of New York Times readers):

1. Those who commit little of their time to newspaper reading—at least when they start to read the paper. Some Wall Street Journal readers probably are this kind and 16% of New York Times readers. These are readers who substitute the summary for their reading of news items. Among them are those who read the summary, go to work and later resume their reading of the newspaper.

2. Those who make a strong commitment: they use the index to make sure they have missed nothing they regard as important or interesting.

3. Both those with a low and a high commitment who make systematic use of the index to locate something that interests them. To such people the index is a convenience.

If we are to evaluate the news summary and/or index adequately for newspapers of moderate size, we shall have to find out more about the way they are used, when and by whom. A split-run study could test whether the same stories that are summarized and indexed and are not summarized and indexed have the same or different scores.

Readership of the News Summary

In connection with a market survey, the Indianapolis (Ind.) Star last summer asked those who read the Star "regularly" about their readership of the "News Summary." This item, which fills about two columns on page 2, summarizes and indexes about 25 news stories and a few editorials and editorial features.

"Regular" readers were those who read the paper three or four times a week. The results were as follows for the head of household:

	Male	Female
Every day	36%	24%
4 to 6 times a week	13	12
2 to 3 times a week	15	16
Once a week	5	8
2 to 3 times a month	3	4
Once a month	3	3
Almost never	25	33

Diaries Show 6-Day Readership Of Children and Adults

After the Phoenix (Ariz.) Republic and Gazette this summer placed diaries in 1,000 randomly selected subscriber households, 500 families reported readership for each member for two consecutive weeks.

The main finding was that readership by both sexes did not vary much throughout the week.

The data confirm the findings of a six-day study of the Troy (N.Y.) Times-Record in 1945 by the personal interview method.

Since the reading of each member of the family was reported, we have some comparative data for children of different ages and for adults. This is shown in Table 1 for a Monday issue of the Republic (morning). In some instances, the breakdowns are too small to show reliable age differences, but are also large enough to serve as indicators of readership of different parts of the paper.

TABLE 1

	Under 12	12-13	14-17	18-20	All Adults
		MALE			
In first section:					
Front page	4%	2%	46%	65%	95%
Pp. 2-5	0	7	16	46	78
Edit. pp., 6-7	0	5	6	34	66
Remainder of sect.	1	5	8	43	77
Other sections:					
Second front page	2	7	24	51	84
Business page	0	0	2	20	48
Women's forum	0	0	7	9	10
Tv pages	12	45	49	59	56
Movie pages	5	32	37	43	29
Sports	4	36	54	51	71
Class. ads	0	0	13	16	30
Comics	22	62	60	63	62

FEMALE

In first section:					
Front page	7	22	48	69	95
Pp. 2-5	1	8	25	40	77
Edit. pp., 6-7	0	2	14	26	58
Remainder of sect.	0	7	20	40	74
Other sections:					
Second front page	2	17	30	57	86
Business page	0	0	0	7	20
Women's forum	0	14	36	49	82
Tv pages	10	66	56	56	72
Movie pages	6	34	48	43	37
Sports	1	5	21	19	18
Class. ads	0	2	13	20	26
Comics	25	73	68	48	60

Readership by children of the Gazette (afternoon) varied considerably from that of the Republic, and could be accounted for by the size and composition of the sample.

Table 1 shows that the late teenagers (18 years and older) have begun to read a considerable part of the content.

We also have some data of a more general nature for the readership of the young adult from the 17 studies reported at p. 61 which were done by personal interview by Carl J. Nelson Research, Inc. Table 2 shows the readership of youth (13 to 17 years), young adults (18 to 29 years) and all adults.

TABLE 2

AVERAGE SCORES FOR ANY READERSHIP OF CATEGORIES OF CONTENT

MALE

	Boys	18-29 Years	All Adults
Editorials	7%	28%	38%
Financial news	16	38	47
Sports news	67	75	76
Radio/tv programs or news	36	35	36
Comics	84	71	61
Panels	80	69	63

FEMALE

	Girls	18-29 Years	All Adults
Editorials	9%	23%	29%
Financial news	9	23	29
Sports news	24	29	30
Society news	19	34	39

(Continued on next page)

FEMALE

	Girls	18-29 Years	All Adults
Radio/tv programs or news	42	45	49
Comics	86	72	63
Panels	82	72	69

The Phoenix diary study was directed by Robert B. Bulla, marketing and research manager of the Phoenix newspapers.

Readership of Special Pages

Dr. Galen Rarick, of the University of Oregon School of Journalism, last July measured the readership of certain pages of the Salem (Ore.) Capital Journal. The study was sponsored jointly by ANPA and the newspaper.

He found that 47% of men readers and 62% of women readers "usually" read the garden page.

He also found that 13% of men and 10% of women "usually" read Boy Scout news.

Chapter 5

For summaries of previous research about the subject-matter of this chapter, see Vol. 1, pp. 48-58 and Vol. 2, pp. 42-55.

Ed. Note: This comprehensive report on teenage reading was made possible by the cooperation of the 17 newspapers and Carl J. Nelson Research Inc. in permitting the ANPA News Research Center to analyze the findings. We join the News Research Steering Committee in expressing appreciation.

Profile of the Teenage Reader

Of the major content of 17 newspapers, adults read about one-fifth of the items and teenagers about one-eighth.

Teenagers saw about four-fifths as many news and feature pictures as adults did.

Teenagers' reading of the front page content was about one-half that of adults, although about four out of five teenagers read something on the page.

Three-fourths of the teenagers, on the average, completed each item (news and features) they selected to read.

Since October, 1965, Carl J. Nelson Research, Inc. has conducted "Survey-of-the-Month" readership studies for several metropolitan newspapers. In addition to adult respondents, teenagers are also interviewed. This permits a comparison of adult and teenage reading behavior.

ANPA made an analysis of the first 17 newspapers measured. The first was of the issue of Oct. 23, 1965 and the last was the issue of March 2, 1967. The days of the week were: Tuesday, 3; Wednesday, 2; Thursday, 9; Friday, 1; and Saturday, 2.

The newspapers were: Philadelphia (Pa.) Bulletin; St. Louis (Mo.) Globe-Democrat; Cincinnati (Ohio) Enquirer; Louisville (Ky.) Courier-Journal; Louisville (Ky.) Times; Chicago (Ill.) Daily News; Dayton (Ohio) Journal-Herald; Boston (Mass.) Globe; Buffalo (N.Y.) News; St. Paul (Minn.) Dispatch; Wichita (Kan.) Eagle; Salt Lake (Utah) Tribune; Detroit (Mich.) Free Press; Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer; Washington (D.C.) Post; New Haven (Conn.) Register; Oklahoma City (Okla.) Times.

The Major Content

The first comparison is of the major content of the newspaper. Table 1 shows five kinds of content and the average number of items of each kind of content that was read.

The average number of these items which appeared is reported for men, boys, women and girls. They also have been converted to index numbers to supply a comparison of adults and teenagers of each sex. The base for men is 100 and for women is 100. Thus, for comics, the index number shows that boys read 60% more comics than men, and for sports news boys read only 67% as many stories as men.

For the total major content, the table shows that boys read 55% as many items as did men and girls read 67% as many as did women—when sports are excluded for women and girls.

Men read about one-fifth of the total content; women less than that; and boys and girls almost one-eighth.

When boys and girls are compared, the table shows that boys and girls read an equal **number** of comics, panels, features, and general news stories. For general news, however, the index number for girls is higher than for boys.

TABLE 1.
THE MAJOR CONTENT OF THE PAPER:
AVERAGE NUMBER OF ITEMS READ

	Avg. No. of Items	Number Read Men	 Boys	Index Number
Comics	16	5	8	160
Panels	11	3	4	133
Features*	77	13	7	54
General news	100	20	5	25
Sports news	33	6	4	67
Total	237	47	28	55
%Read		20.0	11.8	

	Avg. No. of Items	Number Read Women	 Girls	Index Number
Comics	16	5	8	160
Panels	11	3	4	133
Features*	77	13	7	54
General news	100	15	5	33
Total	204	36	24	67
%Read		17.6	11.8	

*Other than comics and panels

Pictures

The attraction that graphic content has for teenagers (as shown by comic and panel readership in Table 1) is not as great for news and feature photographs. However, as Table 2 shows, the median number of pictures seen by teenagers is about four-fifths the median number seen by adults.

TABLE 2.
MEDIAN NUMBER OF PICTURES SEEN

	Median Number Seen	Index Number
Men*	28	100
Boys*	23	82
Women**	28	100
Girls**	22	79

*Exclusive of society pictures
**Exclusive of sports pictures

Major Content: "Any" Readers

Table 3 shows the readership of 15 kinds of content. These are average scores, not number of items as was reported in Tables 1 and 2. The index number compares adults with teenagers. In two instances, teenagers' scores are higher than adults'; in four instances they are almost as high; and in the others are considerably lower.

TABLE 3.
MAJOR CONTENT: "ANY" READERS
MALE

	Avg. Score		Index Number
	Men	Boys	
Any comic	60	84	140
Any panel	63	80	126
Any puzzles and games	24	22	92
Any sports news or picture	81	74	91
Any sports news	77	68	88
Any radio/tv program or news	40	36	90
Index on Page 1	24	20	83
Any amusement news	28	17	61
Any society news or picture	23	14	61
Any society news	12	5	41
Any weather news	48	29	60
Any financial news	49	16	33
Any vital statistics	13	3	23
Any editorial	39	8	21
Any obituary	25	3	12

FEMALE

	Avg. Score		Index Number
	Women	Girls	
Any comic	63	86	137
Any panel	69	81	117
Any puzzles and games	29	27	93
Any radio/tv program or news	49	44	90
Any sports news or picture	38	34	90
Any sports news	31	25	81

(Continued on next page)

	Avg. Score		Index
	Women	Girls	Number
Index on Page 1	21	18	86
Any amusement news	40	32	80
Any society news or picture	61	42	70
Any society news	36	18	50
Any weather news	48	26	54
Any editorial	30	10	33
Any financial news	29	9	31
Any vital statistics	25	6	24
Any obituary	37	7	19

A comparison of the two index number columns shows the differences between boys and girls. There are very few significant differences.

Thoroughness of Reading

The readership of many news stories and features was measured by "parts" (a "part" was approximately one-fourth of an item). A few of these items were representative of content, and, therefore, provide some comparison between adults and teenagers as to the thoroughness with which they read the newspaper.

Table 4 (which does not include stories that were jumped) reports the average initial score for each kind of item and the percentage of the item that was read. That is, the average initial men's score for the 10 sports columns, which were measured by "parts", was 45 and for the last "part" was 41, which means that 91% of the men who started to read the average column read all of it.

TABLE 4.
THOROUGHNESS OF READING OF ITEMS

	MEN		BOYS	
	Avg. Initial Score	% Completed	Avg. Initial Score	% Completed
News stories (38)	41	78	14	68
News feature stories (12)	25	75	5	60
Roundup news column (12)	29	78	9	61
Sports column (10)	45	91	21	88
Sports news stories (6)	50	83	42	82
Financial news (1)	10	80	1	100
Local column (3)	32	86	11	71
Washington column (5)	23	83	3	30
Political column (4)	28	87	4	64
Financial column (2)	17	82	1	0
Women's column (4)	8	81	3	80
Fashion column (1)	8	100	0	0
Tv column (2)	13	84	4	87

(Continued on next page)

	MEN		BOYS	
	Avg. Initial Score	% Completed	Avg. Initial Score	% Completed
Tv log for week (2)	37	56	40	72
Amusement column (1)	30	97	15	73
Editorial (3)	34	89	3	90
Letters to editor (1)	25	88	3	90
Business briefs (1)	9	78	1	0
Action Line (2)	72	84	65	75
News analysis (2)	30	63	6	81
People in the News (1)	49	59	21	62

	WOMEN		GIRLS	
	Avg. Initial Score	% Completed	Avg. Initial Score	% Completed
News stories (38)	32	76	14	70
News feature stories (12)	32	78	13	64
Roundup news column (12)	23	83	7	60
Sports column (10)	8	62	4	45
Sports news story (6)	9	80	8	57
Financial news (1)	3	67	0	0
Local column (3)	45	86	15	78
Washington column (5)	15	78	3	77
Political column (4)	21	79	3	38
Financial column (2)	4	62	3	67
Women's column (4)	37	88	14	83
Fashion column (1)	26	77	10	70
Tv column (2)	22	90	14	63
Tv log for week (2)	40	52	45	73
Amusement column (1)	43	89	28	79
Editorial (3)	22	76	14	63
Letters to editor (1)	22	77	3	100
Business briefs (1)	7	78	3	67
Action Line (2)	75	90	51	61
News analysis (2)	21	66	10	42
People in the News (1)	62	61	42	43

For most kinds of content, the number of items is too small to be representative. For each kind of item the number that were measured by "parts" is in parentheses.

Except for the tv log, the **initial** scores of teenagers are lower than those of adults. For a few kinds of content teenagers read more thoroughly than adults did.

Teenagers spend from 50% to 75% less time reading the newspaper. This is because, in general, they select fewer items and, for some items, read less thoroughly than adults do.

An interesting finding, however (not shown in the table) is that some of the best read news stories by teenagers are short and near the bottom of inside pages.

The Front Page

Table 5 shows that at least four out of five teenagers read something on the front page. However, this is not quite as high as their readership of the comics page, which suggests that a few teenagers (probably the younger ones) turn first to the comics page and never get back to the first page.

TABLE 5.
THE FRONT PAGE

	Men	Boys	Index Number	Women	Girls	Index Number
Read something:						
First section ...	97%	93%	96	98%	88%	99
First page	97%	78%	80	96%	81%	84
Any comic		84%			84%	
*Amount read, p. 1:						
Text	38%	17%	45	31%	16%	51
Art	55%	32%	58	45%	29%	64

*The average of scores for all items on page 1

The total amount of text and art on the front page that is read by teenagers is considerably less than the amount read by adults. Such figures in the table are an average of all scores for the items on the front page.

Specialized Interests

Table 6 shows the readership of several kinds of news and features that represent specialized interests. The number of such items measured is shown in parentheses following the name of the feature; for most items the number is too small to be representative.

TABLE 6.
SPECIALIZED INTERESTS: AVERAGE READERSHIP SCORES

	Men	Boys	Index Number
Humor shorts (10)	31%	28%	90
People in the News (7)	40	13	33
Personal care (4)	2	1	50
Health column (13)	17	7	41
Any garden news (1)	24	4	17
Any book news (4)	17	8	47
Any art news (1)	24	17	71
Any music news (1)	16	7	44
Any church news (1)	11	5	45
Calendar of events, P. 1 (1)	36	22	61

	Women	Girls	Index Number
Humor shorts (10)	34%	27%	80
People in the News (7)	48	20	42
Personal care (4)	25	23	92
Health column (13)	33	12	36
Child care (2)	27	12	44
Dress pattern (5)	15	12	80
Fashion, text (7)	50	41	82
Sewing, knitting (8)	20	8	40
Any engagement news (5)	25	19	76
Any garden news (1)	46	8	17
Any book news (4)	20	6	30
Any art news (1)	37	27	73
Any music news (1)	20	14	70
Any church news (1)	19	1	5
Calendar of events, P. 1 (1)	30	18	60
Any wedding news (1)	26	18	69

The studies showed a fairly high readership of humorous shorts by both adults and teenagers. One of the newspapers studied publishes daily on a comics-youth page a child's "bright saying" and a recollection of an embarrassing moment (Red Faces), paying $2 for each accepted contribution.

Not in the table is a report of the readership of recipes. It showed that few girls read recipes. See p. 73.

Sports

Table 7 shows the readership by men and boys of several kinds of sports news and information. Boys' readership almost equals that of men for most items. Boys were less interested than men in racing, bowling and high school tennis. For several categories, however, the number reported (in parentheses) is too small to be representative.

TABLE 7.
SPORTS: AVERAGE READERSHIP SCORES
(MALE READERS ONLY)

	Men	Boys	Index Number
Any sports news or pictures (17)	81	74	91
Any sports news (17)	77	68	88
5 best read sports stories, avg. (105)	39	31	80
Major leagues standings (6)	51	47	92
Any racing news reader (11)	28	14	50
Racing results, entries (9)	14	5	36

(Continued on next page)

	Men	Boys	Index Number
Nat'l Hockey League standings (5)	16	14	88
Nat'l Basketball League standings (3)	20	18	90
People in Sports (3)	34	25	73
Baseball's Top Ten (2)	36	26	72
Bowling notes (3)	16	7	44
High school football schedule (2)	21	20	95
High school tennis (1)	5	2	40

The very high interest of boys in baseball is reported at p. 74.

The interest of subteenagers in different kinds of sports events was reported at Page 40 of Volume 2 of "News Research for Better Newspapers."

Financial

Table 8 shows the readership of various kinds of financial news and information.

TABLE 8.
FINANCIAL: AVERAGE READERSHIP SCORES

	Men	Boys	Index Number
Any financial news	49	16	33
N.Y. Stock Exch. quotations	30	14	47
Over-the-counter quotations	8	2	25
Mutual fund assets	8	2	25
Dow-Jones index	10	3	33

	Women	Girls	Index Number
Any financial news	29	9	31
N.Y. Stock Exch. quotations	9	1	14
Over-the-counter quotations	3	0.5	17
Dow-Jones index	4	0.3	8
Mutual fund assets	3	0.5	17

Boys' readership of Big Board quotations is almost one-half that of men. Youths' interest is much higher than it used to be. Persons under 21 years were 6.5% of all shareholders of public corporations in 1965, which was almost triple the percentage in 1962.

There appear to be two reasons: (1) legislation enacted in all states in recent years makes it easier for parents and others to make gifts of stock certificates to minors, and (2) some parents who receive split shares give some of them to their children on occasions such as birthdays, graduation and Christmas.

Weather

Table 9 shows the relative interest in the weather, broken down by readership of the ear (or the equivalent on page 1), the (local and/or national) weather map, and the weather "in other cities." The last category often includes local and national meteorological information in addition to temperatures and precipitation in other cities. The table shows that many teenagers read about the weather.

TABLE 9.
THE WEATHER: AVERAGE READERSHIP SCORES

	Men	Boys	Index Number
Page 1	37	22	59
Map	16	10	63
In other cities	18	7	39

	Women	Girls	Index Number
Page 1	35	19	54
Map	14	7	50
In other cities	16	5	41

"Best Read" News Stories

An average of about six general news stories in each newspaper had a readership score of 15 or higher by boys and/or girls. When these are compared with adults' reading of the same stories, the results are as follows:

Avg. Score			Avg. Score		
Men	Boys	Index Number	Women	Girls	Index Number
45	22	49	43	24	56

This means that, for those news stories which had a relatively high interest for teenagers, adults' scores were about double. These were not the "best read" stories by adults, but by teenagers.

In only five of the stories were teenagers' scores higher than adults'. Three of these were on a high school page. The fourth, on page 52 with a Moscow dateline, carried this headline: "Batman? He Represents U.S. Billionaires, Reds Say" (Women 16, girls 19). The fifth story had this headline: "Everything Set for Gemini 6 Flight" (Men 13, Boys 30).

The "best read" stories were categorized as to subject-matter. Table 10 shows the percentage of each type of 101 "best read" stories. It indicates some differences of interest between boys and girls—to the extent that the stories in these issues were representative of such types.

TABLE 10.
TYPES OF "BEST READ" STORIES BY TEENAGERS: PERCENTAGE OF EACH TYPE OF 101 STORIES

Subject matter:	Boys	Girls
Crime	25%	23%
War	13	5
Human interest	11	16
Well-known persons	7	17
Aerospace	5	0
Accidents	4	6
Disasters	6	6
Politics	1	1
Schools	4	6
Weather	2	3
Birth Control	1	1
War diplomacy	2	0
Civil rights	1	1
Government acts	5	4
Humor	1	0
The military draft	4	1
China	2	3
Fires	1	3
Animals	1	3
Miscellaneous	4	1
	100%	100%

The percentages, of course, reflect the content of the newspapers—what happened to be in these issues. Emphasis in the table, therefore, is on the differences between the teenage sexes. Thus, it will be seen that girls are less interested in the Vietnam war and in aerospace than are boys, but are more interested in human interest stories and in news about well-known persons.

Identification

To test the extent to which teenagers seem to identify with persons of their own age in the news, 20 stories were found in which the headline had the words, "boy," "girl," "teener," "youth," and "student." The readership scores were as follows:

Avg. Score			Avg. Score		
Men	Boys	Index Number	Women	Girls	Index Number
30	17	57	37	23	62

Of the 20 stories tabulated, eight did not qualify as "best read" stories by girls; that is, the scores were less than 15. However, some of the stories had a readership high enough to yield the average shown above: the explanation probably is that all of the stories had a second element of interest that affected readership.

It will be noted in the table above that adults' scores were considerably higher than teenagers' for stories that are assumed to interest teenagers.

International News Roundup

Ten of the newspapers had a roundup of international news on an inside page. The amount of display varied. Only two included art. Most of the columns ran at the top of the page, but two were below the fold.

The table below compares the average readership of these columns with the average readership of other international news on inside pages of the same issue—a total of 61 items in the ten newspapers.

	Men	Boys	Index Number
Int'l news roundup	26	6	23
Other int'l news	18	5	28

	Women	Girls	Index Number
Int'l news roundup	21	6	29
Other int'l news	11	4	36

The comparisons suggest that the roundup presentation generates more readership for both adults and teenagers although we cannot be sure because of the small number of cases. But a comparison of the index numbers suggests the roundup presentation does not generate as much readership for teenagers as it does for adults.

Science

The newspapers contained few stories about nonmedical science. But two examples suggest that youth has a relatively high interest in aerospace and oceanography. One three-paragraph story below the fold about oceanography had these scores:

Men	Boys	Women	Girls
14	8	9	7

One newspaper had a full page with five pictures and a story headed "Everything Set for Gemini 6 Flight." The scores were:

	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
Any for page	65	45	64	37
Text	37	30	31	12
Art (average)	39	32	33	21

A Youth Section

An eight-page tabloid youth section in one newspaper was measured. The table below shows some of the comparisons between adults and teenagers and between the sexes.

	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
Anything in section	41	75	67	93
Cover page (art)	37	66	61	85
*Any for page (avg.)	16	58	47	89
Text (avg. of 23 items)	3	15	9	29
Art (avg. of 11 pictures exclusive of cover)	5	24	17	48

*Included advertisements

The main finding seems to be that girls read twice as many individual items and saw twice as many pictures as boys did. (There were more than twice as many pictures of girls than of boys.) About one-half of the women exposed themselves to the inside pages, but read only one-third as much of the text as girls read.

A second newspaper had an 18-page tabloid section in which at least three of the pages were addressed primarily to youth. The table below shows some of the comparisons.

	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
Any for page (avg. of 3 pp.)	16	19	22	32
Text (avg. of 3 items)	6	3	8	17
Art (avg. of 3 pictures)	9	12	15	21
Any for "Motor Sports" page	22	19	15	21
Text (avg. of 3 items)	7	4	2	3
Art (1 picture)	16	16	8	16
Any for "Outdoors" page	16	19	18	19
Text (avg. of 3 items)	5	0	3	2
Art (1 picture)	11	15	12	11

TV Tab for Week

A pullout "TV Week" tab in the same newspaper was measured. The scores were as follows:

	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
Any for section	61	67	71	75
Any program reader	47	48	54	54
Program for:				
Friday	44	44	50	49
Saturday	26	41	33	39
Sunday	27	32	28	37
Monday	23	32	25	37
Tuesday	26	35	25	40
Wednesday	22	30	23	31
Thursday	23	29	27	37

The "any for page" scores were slightly higher than the program scores because the pages carried advertisements.

As the table above shows, teenagers' reading was about 20% higher than adults'.

Few Girls Read in the Role of Housewife

Few teenage girls read the editorial matter on food pages. But when women's page matter is substituted for food copy, girls' readership scores are 37% of adult women's scores.

Do teenage girls read in the role of mother?

Some news and feature content of newspapers is read only by readers in a certain role. Almost everybody is motivated to read a murder story, but only certain kinds of readers read certain content; for example, readers who vote, invest, pay taxes, have children, or belong to a certain group.

To what extent do teenagers read in any of several adult roles? For example, the role of housewife?

Two recent readership studies by Carl J. Nelson Research, Inc., of Chicago, supply some evidence about teenage readership of food copy and women's page copy. The sample included teenagers as well as adults.

In one newspaper the usual food copy was published. But in the second newspaper the copy on the pages carrying food ads, with one exception, was the usual women's page copy—mainly about women's activities and advice columns (some in Q and A form) about knitting, home decoration, fashion, health, personal care and child care.

The table below shows the average scores for the two kinds of editorial matter.

Newspaper publishing:	(1) Women	(2) Girls	Column 2 / Column 1
Food articles, recipes ..	19%	3%	16%
Women's features	30	11	37

As the table shows, girls' scores for food copy were only 16% of women's scores, but were 37% of women's scores for women's features (Column 2 divided by Column 1).

The single exception as to editorial matter in the second newspaper was the first page of the women's section. An article under a 3-column headline below the fold was about preparing a Christmas pudding; it included two recipes. The readership scores for this individual item were women 39%, girls 12%; for the recipes: women 38%, girls 5%.

This same page had three fashion pictures and a brief story which suggests that some teenage girls read in the role of mother.

The top half of the page was art which showed small girls modeling dresses. The large 3-column cutline read "Most Little Girls . . . Are Big on Fashion." Women's scores for the three pictures were 52%, 46%, and 41%; for girls 39%, 36%, and 32%. The text above and below the pictures had these scores: women 34%, girls 25%.

A study for the Denver (Colo.) Post some years ago confirms the finding that many teenage girls (eighth graders) read in the role of mother. This is not surprising since very young girls behave in this role when they dress their dolls.

The discussion about comparative scores presented here is not prescriptive. It is not the purpose of the discussion to suggest that women's page copy should be substituted for food copy. The purpose is to show how teen-age girls read or do not read in a specific role.

The data have been made available through the courtesy of the two newspapers and Carl J. Nelson Research, Inc.

Teenagers' Interest in Baseball

Carl J. Nelson Research, Inc. conducted six "Survey-of-the-Month" readership studies during the 1966 baseball season. The first issue measured was on April 30 and the last on Sept. 30. In addition to adults, each sample included 100 boys and 100 girls.

The newspapers studied were: Dayton (Ohio) Journal-Herald; St. Louis (Mo.) Globe-Democrat; Detroit Free Press; Buffalo (N.Y.) Evening News; Wichita (Kan.) Eagle, and the Cleveland (Ohio) Plain Dealer.

Major League Standings

One measure of interest was readership of major league standings. These are presented in the table below in which three of the newspapers were published in cities with major league teams and three were in other cities. As will be noted, the difference between men and boys is slight.

Papers in:	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
3 Major League cities (Av.)	57	53	10	2
3 other cities (Av.)	45	41	8	4

Box Scores and Line Scores

Although the box score, when it accompanied a news story, was not measured separately, the major league story was measured by parts, the last part including the box score. Averages for two of the newspapers thus measured, for men and boys only, were as follows:

Men		Boys	
First Part	Last Part	First Part	Last Part
49	45	38	38

A third newspaper jumped the major league story from the first sports page to a later page, the box score being on the continuation page. The results:

Men First Part	Men Jump	Boys First Part	Boys Jump
58	31	49	15

The jump caused a loss of readership of 47% for men and 69% for boys, if all of the loss can be attributed to jumping.

One afternoon newspaper published a combined roundup story for both major leagues and published box scores separately for each league. The percentages are shown in the table below:

	Men	Boys	Women	Girls
Roundup story	22	9	4	3
Nat. League box score	25	22	2	1
Amer. League box score	28	20	2	0

None of the six newspapers published line scores. However, an ANPA-sponsored study of the July 22 issue of the Salem (Ore.) Capital Journal yielded these percentages for the roundup stories and the line scores for adult men only:

National League roundup	27
Line scores	8
American League roundup	28
Line scores	11

How Many Watched Television?

In the Salem (Ore.) Capital Journal study, adult readers were asked how many Major League games they had seen on television during the baseball season. This period included 85 playing dates, or 60% of the 1966 schedule since the opening of the season. Probably about 14 games had been televised. The percentages were as follows:

	Men	Women
One	15%	14%
Two or more	52	36
None, not answered	33	51
	100	100

The median number of times was 2.67 for men and 2.0 for women.

Best Read Baseball Stories

The "best read" baseball stories in the six metropolitan newspapers totaled 18. The average readership for men was 40%, for boys 34%.

This data has been made available through the courtesy of the six newspapers and Carl J. Nelson Research, Inc.

Preferred Content in Youth Section

The Allentown (Pa.) Morning Call publishes a weekly eight-page tabloid "Teen Times." In November 1966 the paper queried 658 students in three high schools as to preferred content. The findings for both sexes combined were:

Feature articles	25%
The news column	19
Top Ten Records	13
Pictures	9
Teen Calendar	6
Career Conferences	4
The "Lovelier You" column	4

The least liked content was The "Lovelier You" column (57%) and Junior Bowling (11%).

Effect of Age on Teenagers' Reading of Newspaper Content

One thousand teenagers (13 to 17 years) answered a questionnaire last October in connection with the Denver (Colo.) Post's annual consumer analysis. One question was: "Here is a list of things that are in the newspaper. Please check each item that you usually read when you read a newspaper."

The responses are presented below by three of the five age levels:

	BOYS		
	13	15	17
Front page	84%	89%	90%
Foreign news	20	27	37
National news	29	38	42
Local news	49	53	55
Editorial page	9	16	21
Letters-to-the-editor	6	8	9
Business-financial news	7	8	13
Personal advice columns	16	23	21
Movies and entertainment	71	69	87
Radio and TV listings	69	68	69
Sports pages	67	77	76
Crossword puzzles, games	11	12	11
Comics	96	96	89
Classified ads	21	25	41
Store advertising	29	32	37

GIRLS

	13	15	17
Front page	85%	90%	91%
Foreign news	11	19	33
National news	20	28	46
Local news	43	51	61
Editorial page	9	10	24
Letters-to-the-editor	15	8	23
Business-financial news	—	3	3
Personal advice column	51	75	61
Movies and entertainment	93	81	87
Women's page	50	56	69
Food and recipes	28	10	13
Radio and TV listings	80	73	62
Sports pages	18	21	43
Crossword puzzles, games	33	23	14
Comics	95	93	86
Classified ads	13	22	31
Store advertising	55	55	64

(The Denver (Colo.) Post Teenage Study. October, 1966.)

Chapter 6

For summaries of previous research about the subject-matter of this chapter, see Vol. 1, pp. 110-121 and Vol. 2, p. 111.

More Papers Now Have an "Education Beat"

Duncan, in 1966, queried 55 "major" newspapers as to whether or not they had an education editor—either full-time or part-time.

He found that 29 of the 52 newspapers which replied had a full-time and 20 a part-time education editor. The replies from three newspapers were ambiguous.

He also acquired data from 1945 to the present as to whether or not those newspapers had education editors at certain times. The replies were as follows:

1945	10	1960	40
1955	23	1966	49

The median length of service of such editors in 1966 was four years.

(C. T. Duncan, "The 'Education Beat' on 52 Major Newspapers," Journalism Quarterly, 43: 336-338, Summer, 1966)

Testing for Journalistic Aptitude: Curiosity

A few editors and teachers of journalism over the years have tried to develop tests of journalistic aptitude. Some of the skills and attributes have been spelling, composition and habit of close observation.

Since there is no agreement as to which attributes are needed by the newspaperman no comprehensive test has ever been developed to measure aptitude. Perhaps, however, a combination of several tests each of which would measure a single attribute or skill could be developed.

If so, one of the attributes would be "curiosity"—if we are to accept what a good many editors have asserted at various times. For example, the late Carr V. Van Anda, managing editor of the New York (N.Y.) Times once said: "The first test of a good reporter is the collection of facts and impressions. He must be eager and curious about everything under the sun and beyond it."

Galanis, in 1958, developed a test to measure "induced curiosity." He defined "curiosity" as a drive-state in which the drive is reduced by the acquisition of "relevant" and "familiar" knowledge "without manifest reward."

Galanis selected 40 abbreviations from Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary, such as "f.o.b.," "U.S.S.R." and "i.e."

He administered them to 28 students individually, asking them to write definitions The test form included a statement that the source of the abbreviations and their definitions was an appendix of the dictionary.

A few days later he retested the same students in a group by asking them to supply definitions only of the abbreviations they had not defined correctly on the first test. All but two improved their score.

The students were asked at the time of the retest how they happened to learn the correct definitions for those abbreviations they had not known when first tested. The replies showed that:

25% had not looked up any
75% had looked up some
39% had looked up all

He asked those students who had looked up some or all of the definitions why they had done so. Twelve said "curiosity" and six said, "I felt stupid; should have known the answers."

Galanis concluded that curiosity can be induced and can be measured.

Whether it would be practicable for newspapers to administer such a test to individual job applicants would have to be determined. It certainly could be administered in the schools of journalism.

(Louis Galanis, "Attempted Design of a Test to Measure Induced Curiosity," Master's thesis, Stanford University, 1958)

Causes of Story, Headline Errors

Griggs and Carter, for the Research Division of the University of Florida School of Journalism and Communications in 1964, studied inaccuracies in one week's issue of the Gainesville (Fla.) Sun. The newspaper cooperated in the study.

The study differs from those previously reported in that reporters and copy editors were asked to explain the errors.

The table below lists kinds of errors in news stories and headlines and the reasons given by reporters and copy editors for the errors.

Errors in News Stories

Incorrect facts (wrong time, place, age, title, identity)	48%
Names (mostly misspelling)	17
Semantics (difference of opinion between reporter and source)	11
Omissions (in list of participating events)	9
Wrong addresses	6
Other	9

Reasons Given for Errors

Carelessness, haste by reporter	16
Error in written material used	16
Misunderstood source	14
Source-reporter disagreement on semantics	14
Oversimplification (trying to keep item short)	8
Source wrong	8
Reporter assumed source wrong	8
Reporter not given all the facts	5
Typo	5
Facts accurate at time of interview but changed before publication	3
Copydesk changed story, making it wrong	3

Errors in Headlines

Incorrect facts	42
Distortion, exaggeration	34
Omissions	8
Typo	8
Other	8

Reasons Given for Errors

Headline does not say what story says	42
Caused by error in story	34
Source-editor disagreement on semantics	8
Carelessness, haste	8
Typo	8

The main conclusions were:

1. Many errors result from imperfect communication among individuals during the gathering and handling of news.
2. Many errors result from carelessness and lack of "a healthy skepticism" on the part of both reporters and copy editors.

(Harry H. Griggs and Nick Carter. "Why Reporting Errors?" The Florida Press, June, 1964)

What Happened to Talented Journalism Seniors Ten Years After Graduation

Sigma Delta Chi each year publishes a list of the outstanding senior journalism major students designated by their respective departments or schools. In 1955, the total in all schools having a Sigma Delta Chi chapter was 42. Not all of the seniors were members of Sigma Delta Chi.

Galbraith, of the University of North Carolina, in 1965, traced the career of 35. Seven could not be located.

The table below shows the kind of job they started in and the kind of job they held in 1965. A few of them completed their military service or attended graduate school before taking a job. Only one started with a wire service.

	Initial Job	Job in 1965
Newspaper, wire service	19*	8
Public relations	10*	16
Broadcasting	2	2
Magazines	1	4
Not in journalism	3	5
	35	35

*One man held a special (temporary) promotion job for one year and then went into newspaper work. We have classified him as a beginner in newspaper work since he took a $1,000 cut in salary when he switched.

Of those who switched from a newspaper or wire service job into another field, all but one did so before 1960. The median year for the switch was 1958—three years after graduation for most of them. Their median salary at that time was about $5,000.

The next table reports the median salary for the groups at the time they began their career and 10 years later.

	Beginning	After 10 Years
Newspaper, wire service ..	$3,744	$ 8,164**
Public relations	4,803	13,200
Magazines	—*	9,200
Broadcasting	—*	12,000
Average for all	4,200	12,600

*Not reported.

**This compares with $11,300 (family income $13,900) reported by Grey and Gerald in their 1964 survey of 86 newsmen of 10 years or more experience who were working on four midwestern newspapers. ("News Research for Better Newspapers," p. 113). Galbraith says only that most of the respondents had jobs in the West and Middle West.

The average man, in the 10-year period, switched jobs 2.6 times. Those in public relations changed jobs 3.2 times, those in magazine work 2.4 times, those in broadcasting 3.0 times and those in newspaper and wire service work only 2.4 times.

Galbraith summarizes his findings as follows:

"There is no evidence that newspapers should try to outbid PR firms and publicity minded businesses at the beginning salary level. There is plenty of evidence that about half the top journalism school talent will go to newspapers first, if for no other reason than to gain media experience.

"The problem is how to keep the talented man on at the paper when he has acquired enough experience to make him valuable to the PR outfits.

"Probably the best, if not the only way, is for newspapers to revamp upwards their salary scales at the three or four year experience level."

(W. J. Galbraith, Jr., "Sigma Delta Chi Outstanding Graduates of 1955—Where Are They Now?" Presented at Region 2 Sigma Delta Chi Conference, March 17, 1966)

What Happens to Scholarship Winners?

Dean John L. Hulteng, of the University of Oregon School of Journalism, reported in April on the whereabouts of 1962-1964 journalism scholarship winners at four major schools of journalism.

The survey was made at the request of the Joint Committee on Journalism Education of the ANPA and the Association for Education in Journalism. The schools were at the Universities of Wisconsin, Illinois, Texas and Oregon. Fifty-one scholarship holders were listed—28 men and 23 women.

The occupational distribution was as follows:

	Men	Women	All
Newspaper work	39%	22%	32%
Graduate school	18	4	12
Military service, Peace Corps	14	0	8
Public relations	11	9	5
Magazines, book publishing	3	17	10
Advertising	3	13	8
Teaching	3	9	6
Radio, television	3	0	2
Not known	3	4	4
Married, not working	0	22	10

The employing newspapers were: Chicago (Ill.) Daily News; Rockford (Ill.) Star; Port Washington (Wis.) Ozaukee Press; Eugene (Ore.) Register-Guard (2); Portland (Ore.) Journal; The Wall Street Journal (San Francisco); London (England) Guardian (suburban weekly); Minneapolis (Minn.) Star; Philadelphia (Pa.) Bulletin; Dallas (Tex.) Morning News (Washington bureau); New York (N.Y.) Times; Elizabeth (N.J.) Evening Journal; Paddock Publications, Arlington Heights, Ill.; Madison (Wis.) State Journal; Mexico City News; Nacogdoches (Tex.) Sentinel.

The survey also listed the grade point average of each scholarship holder.

Career Interests of 289 College Journalists

The Newspaper Fund, last winter and spring, queried 289 college journalism students as to their interest in seven kinds of journalistic careers. The students were in 78 four-year and two-year colleges in California, New Jersey, Ohio and the Rocky Mountain states. More than two-thirds were males.

The percentage who said they were interested in each kind of career was as follows:

Daily newspaper	67%
Weekly newspaper	17
Magazines (including news magazines)	50
Broadcast news	35
News services	16
Public relations	42
Advertising	19
	246

The total was more than 100% because many students expressed interest in more than one kind of career. Students in the two-year colleges expressed interest in more media careers than did four-year college students. Students from schools which teach little or no journalism for credit tended to be less interested in newspaper and magazine careers.

To find out what the students wanted to know about careers in journalism, the survey asked them to rank in 1-2-3 order seven topics for discussion at a career conference. The rankings were as follows:

1. Job hunting: where should I start?
2. What are the facts about salaries and working conditions?
3. Graduate school: why go? what will I learn?
4. Can I be a specialist? how soon?
5. Military service: get it over with or put it off?
6. Summer jobs: where are they and what can I expect?
7. Can a girl get ahead in the news world?

The Newspaper Fund was assisted in the survey by the California Newspaper Publishers Association, the Ohio Newspaper Association, the New Jersey College Editors and the Rocky Mountain College Editors.

5 Out of 8 Schools Were Visited This Year by Newspaper Recruiters

A total of 109 schools of journalism in 42 states and the District of Columbia responded to a campus recruiting survey conducted early in April by Paul S. Swensson, executive director of The Newspaper Fund, Inc., on behalf of the Associated Press Managing Editors Association.

Sixty-eight of the schools (62%) reported that daily newspaper recruiters had visited their campus since January 1, 1967. A few of the schools reported that the recruiting season had just begun or was half over.

The schools said they had received, since January 1, 585 letters, 467 telephone calls and 2888 visits from newspapers—an average of more than 12 inquiries per school.

These resulted in 164 hirings with 219 negotiations pending.

The survey showed that newspapers were making considerably greater recruiting efforts this year than were broadcasters and magazines, but about the same efforts as public relations recruiters.

Chapter 7

For summaries of previous research about the subject-matter of this chapter, see Vol. 1, pp. 99-109 and Vol. 2, pp. 84-94.

Some Guidelines for Reporting Opinion and Election Polls

Some tests for evaluating the reliability of polls:

1. Was the poll conducted by a professional?
2. Did the pollster use a representative sample?
3. Do the poll-takers have a promotional interest in the poll?
4. Would the sponsors of a private poll issue the results if they showed opposite conclusions?

The following resolution was adopted in October 1966 by the Executive Council of the American Association for Public Opinion Research:

> The Executive Council of the American Association for Public Opinion Research strongly deplores the serious and prominent attention given by the mass media to "polls" which are not conducted in accordance with professional standards of research, as exemplified by the AAPOR Code of Ethics.
>
> Many so-called "polls" are conducted in ways that cast considerable doubt as to how well their results can reflect public opinion. Sheer numbers provide no evidence of the representativeness of a sample. This is true of mass mailings with a low rate of return and street-corner interviews. It is well known among professional public opinion research people that such "polls" are subject to large biases. *The prominent reporting of such polls as though they were true measurements of public opinion may be seriously misleading and so be a dis-service to the public.* (AAPOR's italics).

In response to this resolution, ANPA's News Research Center has been asked to supply some guidelines to assist editors of newspapers and wire services in making decisions about reporting and publishing the poll results available to them.

Dr. Leo Bogart, current president of AAPOR, has collected some "horrible examples" of opinion polls. Here is one:

A leading newspaper last August published on Page 1 the following under the headline, "54% in Ohio Poll Assert U.S. Role in War Is Mistake":

> A large sampling of opinion in a swing Congressional district in Ohio has shown strong sentiment that "it was a mistake for the United States to get so deeply involved in the Vietnam war."

The "large sample" was a 4% return from a questionnaire mailed by Rep. Charles A. Mosher (Ohio) to every voter in his district.

Three weeks after it had published Rep. Mosher's poll on Page 1, the same newspaper published a Gallup poll on

Page 5. About nine weeks later it carried a three-inch report of a Kraft poll on Page 43. The Gallup and Kraft polls showed exactly the opposite proportions of national opinion about the Vietnam war.

Sending a questionnaire to voters in an election year is a new twist on the old form of campaign literature. For example, Rep. Joe R. Pool (Tex.) last year mailed about 180,000 questionnaires which contained these loaded questions:

> In 1958, I publicly proposed an extra tax credit for parents of college students. Are you in favor of such a tax credit exemption as presently gaining bipartisan support in Congress?
>
> Do you feel demonstrators who block U.S. troop trains, burn draft cards, send gifts and blood plasma to North Vietnam should be fined and imprisoned when such acts would be considered treasonous if we were in a declared state of war?

The Congressman said the return was about 7% and added, "This is considered normal in the direct mail industry."

What is normal for direct mail advertising returns has little application to opinion polling. The returns from mailed opinion questionnaires are determined mainly by these two factors:

1. The interest the respondent has in the subject-matter. More people who are intensely interested reply than do those who are not very concerned.

2. The degree to which recipients are desk-oriented (that is, pencil- or pen-oriented). Women and manual workers are usually under-represented in proportion to their presence in the population.

The "universe" to which the questionnaires are mailed is also a factor in the reliability of mail polls. Beginning in the early nineteen-twenties, the Literary Digest every presidential election year used the promotional scheme of sending a ballot (accompanied by a subscription form) to all passenger automobile owners and all persons listed in telephone directories.

Of the several million ballots mailed in 1936, about two million were returned, and these underestimated Roosevelt's vote by about 19%; they also predicted Landon's election. The considerable number of adults who had no automobile or telephone in 1936 were not in the "universe" sampled.

The congressmen's mail polls mentioned above should not be confused with the scientific private polls that professional pollsters do for candidates. As far back as 1962, two-thirds of the candidates for U.S. senator and three-fourths of the candidates for governor employed private pollsters. One pollster, who formerly conducted such private polls, Louis Harris, conducted 514 polls for candidates between 1955 and 1962.

Leaked Poll Findings

Candidates' polls are sometimes leaked to newspapers when they favor the candidate for whom the poll was made. Since not all of these are done by competent pollsters, what should the editor decide—for, to a considerable degree, he vouches for the polls?

Perhaps the best guideline is to ask himself these questions: Is the pollster a professional? When he is, what is his reputation—locally and nationally—as a market or opinion research expert?

The best known professional pollsters are research agencies on whom the largest corporations in the United States rely for making important decisions affecting their businesses. Their election polls are sometimes wrong, but they feel expert enough to risk their reputations.

Promotional Polls

Some polls are conducted in an election year for promotional purposes. Eugene S. Pulliam, of the Indianapolis News and Star, in 1960, assembled this list: St. Louis Ice Cream Poll (vanilla for Nixon), Los Angeles Ice Cream Bars (Kennedy 52.7%), Bloomington Bubble Gum Cigars, Nashville Popcorn Poll, Las Vegas bookies, Rangoon, Burma (gamblers), Amherst students and bumper strips.

Can the results of such polls be reported in an appropriate context that tells the readers they are not genuine forecasts? In some instances, perhaps, the name of the poll supplies such a context; in other instances, maybe the story can be given a twist that makes the reader grin. If not, there is the risk of downgrading the genuineness of the serious polls.

Sampling

The major factors that determine the reliability and validity of a poll are: (1) the sampling method and (2) the way the questions are asked.

Sampling was discussed in a previous bulletin ("Understanding Research: (I) Sampling for Surveys" in *News Research for Better Newspapers,* Vol. 1, pp. 131-134).

The major professional pollsters use a modified probability sample which, theoretically, assures that each eligible voter in the population has an equal chance of being interviewed.

As the bulletin mentioned above explained, the professional pollsters draw blocks in a city in proportion to the size of blocks, randomize the households within the selected blocks, and often select by a systematic method the person in the household who is to be interviewed.

This cannot be done in street corner "straw" polls.

Questions

Questions asked by professional pollsters are usually pretested. If they are found to be in the wrong sequence, ambiguous, recondite or double-barrelled, they are modified.

When, however, pollsters are asking about intended voting behavior the questions are simple and not ambiguous. Thus: "If the presidential election were being held today, how would you vote—for Truman, for Dewey, for Wallace, or for Thurmond?" (Gallup). The way such a question is asked does not contribute to error.

"Undecideds" and Turnout

A kind of response that can contribute to error, however, is the so-called "undecided" response. The pollsters must make some decision about the eligible respondent who only says he is "leaning toward" a certain candidate or who merely says he hasn't decided yet.

Most pollsters add the "leaners" to those who have stated a definite preference and allocate the truly "undecideds" according to the proportion for each candidate. Thus, when Candidate A receives 54 per cent of the preference, Candidate B 36 per cent and the "undecideds" are 10 per cent, the prediction becomes A, 60 per cent; B, 40 per cent.

The greatest difficulty the expert pollster faces in some elections is the "turnout"—the proportion of respondents in the sample who will actually vote. The weather, for example, he cannot control. But he finds it almost impossible to determine how much interest the individual voter has in the particular election and the likelihood of his voting.

This despite the fact that social scientists have developed a great amount of information about the motivations and social stimuli that cause one to vote or not to vote. (It is an interesting fact that since woman's suffrage began in 1920, the fluctuation in turnout has been much greater than it was in the preceding sixty years.)

Much is now known about the socio-economic and psychological characteristics of nonvoters, and pollsters could use some of these data advantageously instead of merely asking questions to measure the respondents' interest in the election. But getting and tabulating responses to most of the relevant questions would make the poll a much larger project than could be justified by considerations of cost and immediacy.

Editors should beware of predictions in primaries and local bond elections because it is difficult for the pollster to know the turnout. (Three- and- four-cornered races are also more difficult to predict because the shift can be not just from one candidate to the other but from one candidate to any of the others.)

When the Pollsters Were Wrong

In thirty years of predicting the results of presidential elections the major pollsters have failed only once to predict the winning candidate.

That was in 1948 when the candidates were Truman, Dewey, Wallace and Thurmond. The pollsters predicted that Dewey would win. Truman's vote was underestimated about five per cent by two pollsters and 11.4 per cent by a third pollster, who quit polling in September—because Dewey "was certain to win."

We shall never know exactly why the pollsters failed in 1948. That is, we cannot trace the amount of error for each decision the pollsters made that cumulatively equates with their total error.

After the election, the Social Science Research Council appointed a committee of statisticians and social psychologists to analyze the records and methods of the pollsters and the reports of post-election studies made by the national and state pollsters.

The investigators examined the data on the "undecided" respondents and the methods used for allocating them to specific candidates. They found, however, that any method of allocating the "undecideds" could not change the pollsters' predictions by more than 1.5 per cent.

Perhaps we can account for the failures of the pollsters in 1948 if we avoid statistical analysis and instead examine the nature of the campaign—the issues and images of the major party candidates.

This was the first time that the pollsters had operated in an election when Roosevelt was not a candidate. Roosevelt had defined himself so clearly that the voters knew what he stood for and what he was against.

In 1940, for example, a study in Erie County, Ohio showed that five-sixths of the voters had made their decision immediately after the parties' nominating conventions, and almost none of them shifted during the campaign. In 1948, however, the pollsters seemed to have overlooked the fact that Roosevelt was no longer a candidate. They became overconfident.

The 1948 election was in a transitional period in politics. The Republicans had gained control of Congress in 1946 and the Korean war was two years hence. Dewey had developed a reputation as an extraordinarily able administrator and Truman's image suffered by comparison with Roosevelt's. The image of both candidates, however, was somewhat ambiguous.

The strategy of the Republican candidates for president and vice-president was to talk only in generalities. Republicans believed they had the election won provided they did nothing to excite the voters on specific issues. A great many Democratic politicans thought Truman had no chance.

But Truman set out to change this situation. He first dramatically called back into session the "do-nothing Congress" to vote on price controls. He campaigned for eight weeks, traveling much farther than Dewey and making many more speeches. He denounced the Taft-Hartley Act (which had been passed over his veto) as "shameful" and "vicious." His rhetoric was more strident than voters had ever heard from a President. Truman thus projected a more salient image than did Dewey.

Many voters had not known how either of the candidates stood on price control, Taft-Hartley, and public housing. Truman succeeded in making them aware of how he stood.

The result was that a good many formerly apathetic voters decided to participate in the election and to vote for Truman. (Many farmers in the Middle West also voted for Truman, but we have little information about their motivations.)

In Elmira, N.Y. (a Republican city), in which some social scientists conducted a panel study during the campaign, interviewing the same voters four times, the percentage of major party voters who favored Dewey declined gradually from 72 per cent in June to 65 per cent in November.

The National pollsters, however, did not or could not measure what was happening in the minds of voters. Perhaps they could not have succeeded in estimating the turnout and detecting the shift even with the more refined methods they now use.

Indeed, the pollsters can be wrong in some situations —not because they have used inefficient sampling procedures, but because they can't get at what is in the voters' minds at the time they poll or shortly afterward, as in 1948.

Or as in the 1964 Oregon presidential primary. There the switching from Lodge to Rockefeller (there was no switching from the other candidates) was caused by the intensive and expensive Rockefeller campaign on the very eve of the primary.

Rockefeller's campaign did not peak until the very last days of the campaign whereas the campaign of his opponents had peaked earlier. An analysis of the absentee ballots cast one week or more before the election indicates that Lodge would have led the ballot if the election had been held one week earlier.

In most general elections, however, the chances are very high that the professional pollsters will be reasonably accurate.

More Stories Are Favorable to Youth

The San Rafael (Calif.) Independent-Journal had four persons who were active in the field of education evaluate all news stories about youth which had been published last June. The findings were as follows:

Favorable stories	258
Unfavorable stories	77

Teenagers' Image Is Favorable

To determine the validity of a complaint that his newspaper presented an unfavorable stereotype of the teenager, Clarence W. Harding, public relations director of the South Bend (Ind.) Tribune, analyzed all teenage stories which had been published between Feb. 19 and Feb. 26, 1967.

He found that 653 inches had been devoted to favorable news about the teens and 69 inches to unfavorable news. The study also showed that 33 stories were favorable and 11 were unfavorable. Of the 28 pictures used, all were favorable.

Favorable stories about teens were accorded as good position as were the unfavorable stories. Stories about teenage crimes rarely appeared on the front page.

Chapter 8

An Inventory of Editorial Content

The Bureau of Advertising, ANPA and the ANPA News Research Steering Committee sent a questionnaire to every English language daily newspaper in the United States last November and December inquiring about the frequency of publication of 39 kinds of editorial content.

A total of 1,714 newspapers, after exclusion of trade and other specialized newspapers, received the questionnaire.

Sixty-nine per cent, or 1,182, replied. Because many papers of less than 10,000 circulation did not reply the data was weighted by a random selection procedure. The frequencies reported below, therefore, are for 1,714 newspapers.

Table 1 shows the percentage of newspapers which publish the particular kinds of content at least once a month—regularly. The data is presented only for newspapers in Sales Management's first hundred markets, nonmetropolitan newspapers, and all newspapers.

TABLE 1

Editorial Content Published at Least Once a Month—Regularly

	Total	1st 100 Markets	Non-Metrop.
Sports	96%	98%	97%
Weather	94	96	91
Society	92	95	90
TV log	91	97	86
Food and recipes	89	93	84
Business-finance	82	90	74
Schools (grade and high)	80	67	80
Hunting, fishing	79	88	73
Personal advice	78	90	70
Television column	76	90	65
Health and medical	76	88	67
Fashions (women)	75	86	66
Teenage	69	82	59
Security, commodity quotations	68	77	56
Sewing patterns	68	85	55
Motion pictures	68	85	57
Gardening	66	82	55
Beauty	65	82	52
Theatre	64	83	50
Books	62	76	50
Farm and Ranch	62	37	71
Bridge	60	78	43
Home building, repair	59	68	49

(Continued on next page)

	Total	1st 100 Markets	Non-Metrop.
Home furnishings	59%	74%	46%
Child care	53	66	43
Do-It-Yourself	52	62	42
Science	52	66	42
Teenage apparel	47	60	37
Etiquette	45	60	32
College	45	60	32
Fashions (men)	42	53	35
Resort and travel	43	65	31
Radio log	42	62	26
Boating	41	58	31
Phonograph records	38	61	24
Radio column	35	60	20
Automobile	33	44	28
Pets	27	46	17
Photography	24	37	16

In all except two instances, the proportion of large circulation newspapers which publish a specific kind of content exceeds the proportion of non-metropolitan newspapers. The exceptions are "schools (grade and high)" and "Farm and Ranch."

Five Times a Week Use

Table 2 shows the percentage of newspapers which publish 25 kinds of content five times a week. Since the percentage of newspapers publishing the other 14 kinds of content ranges from only 1% to 7%, that data has been omitted from Table 2.

TABLE 2

Editorial Content Published Five Times a Week

	Total	1st 100 Markets	Non-Metrop.
Weather	99%	99%	99%
Sports	95	96	95
Society	94	91	93
Security, commodity quotations	91	98	85
Personal advice	89	90	90
Bridge	87	91	82
Radio log	87	91	83
Tv log	82	94	72
TV column	72	87	61
Business-finance	68	98	50
Health and medical	66	68	61
Radio column	60	73	48
Sewing patterns	56	59	50
Theatre	46	60	40
Motion pictures	39	63	26
Etiquette	32	29	20
Child care	25	32	18
Beauty	21	27	8

(Continued on next page)

	Total	1st 100 Markets	Non-Metrop.
Fashions (women)	20%	30%	12%
Schools (grade and high)	19	20	19
Food and recipes	17	24	13
College	14	14	14
Teenage	13	13	12
Hunting, fishing	11	16	9
Science	11	15	8

The greatest differences between newspapers of large circulation and non-metropolitan newspapers are in the publication of business-financial and beauty columns. There are no significant differences as to school, college, and teenage matter.

The newspapers were also asked to estimate the number of letters-to-the-editor received per year. The averages (median) were as follows:

All newspapers	377
First 100 markets	1,910
Non-metropolitan	229

The newspapers were also asked on which days of the week they carried the heaviest volume of (a) food advertising retail, (b) food advertising national and (c) general merchandizing-department store. They were also asked about the next heaviest days for each of the three kinds of advertising. The results are in Table 3.

TABLE 3

	Heaviest			Next Heaviest		
	Food Retail	Food General	Dept. Store	Food Retail	Food General	Dept. Store
Monday	0%	1%	1%	28%	12%	7%
Tuesday	1	2	3	6	6	5
Wednesday	57	45	34	10	17	23
Thursday	35	37	40	27	31	25
Friday	1	2	3	5	6	13
Saturday	0	0	0	2	1	0
Sunday	1	1	13	10	5	15
No answer	5	12	6	12	22	12

Since there were no significant differences between newspapers in large markets and newspapers in small markets no breakdowns are presented.

(Bureau of Advertising, ANPA and ANPA News Research Steering Committee, Inventory of Editorial Content of 1,714 Daily Newspapers in the United States. 1967.)

The Content of Youth Sections, Pages and Columns

The ANPA News Research Center sponsored a content analysis of the editorial matter directed to the youth audience in 261 ANPA-member newspapers.

The analysis, done by Dr. Jack Lyle, of the University of California at Los Angeles, reports frequency of publication, kinds of matter published, proportion of advertising, origins of the matter, and the reasons given by newspapers for publishing such matter.

The quality of the matter was also analyzed by a scheme of "value-analysis."

By Dr. Jack Lyle

Attracting and keeping youthful readers is a problem of increasing concern to newspapers. One solution is to include a youth or teen section, but there are several variations of this solution.

ANPA member newspapers were canvassed during the winter of 1967 as to whether or not they published editorial content directed especially to youth. The following report on their answers is in two parts. The first presents basic descriptive data about various types of youth matter and a discussion of the statements of respondents--pro and con. The second part presents the results of a "value analysis" of a sample of 60 of the youth sections.

PART I

A total of 455 daily newspapers responded to a questionnaire mailed last January. Of these, 261 reported they published some kind of content directed especially to youth and enclosed tearsheets or sections; 194 reported they did not publish such matter.

Of those who responded yes, 12% published youth columns, 64% youth pages and 24% youth sections of two or more pages.

Table 1 shows the frequency of publication, day of publication and the target age groups.

TABLE 1.
DESCRIPTIVE DATA OF YOUTH DEPARTMENTS

	Columns (N=31)	Pages (N=166)	Sections (N=64)
Frequency of publication:			
Daily	10%	1%	0%
Semiweekly	3	2	0
Weekly	71	94	95

(Continued on next page)

(Continued from preceding page)

	Columns (N=31)	Pages (N=166)	Sections (N=64)
Semimonthly	0	0	2
Monthly	0	1	3
Not ascertainable	16	2	0
Day of publication:			
Monday	8%	3%	3%
Tuesday	4	9	8
Wednesday	20	8	6
Thursday	8	14	5
Friday	24	24	32
Saturday	20	26	38
Sunday	16	15	9
Target age group:			
Elementary and junior high	0	1	3
Elementary, junior, senior high	0	2	2
Junior and senior high	29	14	14
Junior, senior high and college	10	3	6
Senior high	55	58	50
Senior high and college	6	21	25
College	0	1	0
Proportion of space to art:			
No art	*	5%	6
1%-9%	*	11	6
10%-19%	*	30	9
20%-29%	*	26	24
30%-39%	*	7	21
40%-49%	*	7	21
50% and more	*	6	13
Proportion of space to ads:			
No ads	*	56	26
1%-9%	*	9	21
10%-19%	*	15	20
20%-29%	*	9	21
30%-39%	*	4	7
40%-49%	*	2	3
50% and more	*	5	2

*Not applicable to columns.

The most frequent practice was to include the youth department—whether it was a column, page or section—on a weekly basis. Several newspapers ran such matter daily. Forty-four per cent of the columns, 50% of the pages and 70% of the sections ran on Friday or Saturday.

Senior high school readers were the primary target audience, although some newspapers were aiming for a young adult group (up to 25 years of age).

The average (median) proportion of space allocated to art was one-third for sections and more than one-fifth for youth pages.

Fifty-six per cent of the pages and 26% of the sections carried no ads although a few carried an ad ratio as high as 50% or more. The average (median) proportion of space in pages and sections devoted to art was about 18%. Sections were considerably more likely to be geared to exploitation of the teenage advertising market. But it should be noted that even in the sections ad space most frequently accounted for less than 20% of the total space.

Why Youth News Is Published

What are newspapers trying to accomplish through their youth departments? The most frequent responses are categorized in Table 2. The responses total 149% because some newspapers gave more than one reason.

TABLE 2.

MOST FREQUENT REASONS FOR PUBLISHING A YOUTH DEPARTMENT

To develop newspaper habit among youngsters	66%
Youth is part of the audience and part of the public and, therefore deserves attention	30%
Youth needs a forum of its own	14
To promote journalism as a career	11
To attract parents	10
To inform the public about school activities	8
To counteract bad stories about teenagers	6
To develop advertising revenue	4

As might be expected, the overriding concern was to attract young readers in order to build the audience of the future: "Teens are our readers of the future and we must gain their alliance early." "We feel people of all ages should read our paper and the way to get them is to have material they definitely will want to read."

Concern about the effects of television also frequently were added. "We feel you must get them young or lose them to the electronic media." "Must make every possible effort to compete with tv for youngsters' time."

One newspaper in a competitive city added another dimension: "We believe teenagers' choice can be influential on parents' selection of our paper for subscription."

The second most frequent response category approached the problem from the standpoint of responsibility to the youthful reader as part of the audience and the news-making world. "Young readers are entitled to some attention just as much as investors, hobbyists and housewives." "Teen beat is like sports or the business beat; special news for the special audience." "Students and teachers are doing exciting things and deserve more coverage." "Youth is making a great deal of news of interest to all of us."

One newspaper, however, seemed more concerned about accommodating to its adult readers while fulfilling this responsibility: "We believe teenagers' activities and interests deserve coverage in a separate section that doesn't force itself on adult readers."

This last remark ran counter to the assertion, volunteered by 10%, that youth departments built adult circulation and readership. "We feel thousands of moms, pops and grandparents also turn to these pages. "Parents are the best readers [of the section] of all." One newspaper, indeed, felt youth readership was only incidental: "The page is largely attractive to parents and teachers, although a few children get interested."

And another said: "We use this as a means of informing the general public of activities of the high school program, to keep adults interested about youth activities."

(Some doubt is cast on these assertions by the report of a readership survey of a youth **section** (See p. 71) which shows that few adults had read either the text or the art in that section).

Six per cent stated it was a way of emphasizing the positive accomplishments of the community's youth. "We cover their crimes; why not cover their good points?" "To counterbalance the weight of bad news about teenagers."

More creative reasons were given by the 14% who felt that such departments offered teenagers a platform both for literary expression and from which they could try to explain themselves to the community. "[We] feel a definite need to give young people an outlet all their own." "Enables youth to talk to one another and to their elders about things that interest them." "Provide a forum where the younger generation can tell its side."

Student or Staff Written?

And 11%, who were among those who had pages written by students, said they hoped the department would create interest in a journalistic career among better students.

Inspection of the sample tearsheets sent in with replies revealed considerable diversity in policy regarding the source of material. Many papers followed the practice of setting up a student staff and editorial board which handled the entire operation.

At the other extreme were the 10% of youth departments which were totally staff written. "When we started, we were convinced professional reporters writing teen news would be better than having students write the material. Time has proved us right." For most papers, however, the sections were a mixture of student, staff and syndicated material. (See Table 3).

TABLE 3.
ORIGINS OF MATERIAL (AVERAGE % OF TOTAL CONTENT)

	Section	Page	Column
Staff written	26%	19%	29%
Student written	27	26	33
Carried syndicated matter	16	22	20
Not designated (probably staff or combination staff and students)	31	32	18

No syndicated matter was carried by 28% of the sections, 39% of the pages and 78% of the columns. The percentage of total content supplied by syndicates ranged from 16% to 20%.

To Attract Advertising

Only 4% mentioned the youth department as a means of attracting advertising, which perhaps should not be surprising in view of the relatively small number of ads carried in most of the teen pages and sections. One respondent stated his paper had suspended a monthly teen tabloid because of lack of advertising support.

Is There a Payoff?

Not all of the respondents were happy with their youth departments. Some of the reservations dealt with content. "After ten years of using largely what the journalism or English teacher thought should be printed, we are trying to determine and follow what the youngsters want." "I believe we should place less reliance on columns about school activities and try to get more in on opinions of youth and features about their primary interests." "We've gone to all extremes to interest them. . . . We've interviewed many young people on the content of the page, but we can't get a trend at all. Until they are 18 or 19, they yawn at newspapers." "Youths are not in agreement as to what interests them and interests change rapidly."

This last point was mentioned by a newspaper which did not have a youth department. "We avoid segregating the general news for 'youth' because of the sharp difference in their interests within a span of a few years."

Several of those having youth departments indicated that they were re-evaluating their effort and might abandon it. "We are presently investigating another theory: that young people don't like being segregated in a page or section, that their news and features should go ROP."

Fewer respondents from papers without youth departments added remarks, but the most frequent one—made by 24 newspapers—was that they did run youth news but felt it better to include it on an ROP basis. "Youths are alert and intelligent enough to find material of interest throughout the paper. Our readership studies support this."

"We used to publish a youth section but now integrate this news into the regular paper; much better this way." "The general consensus of our editors is to encourage youths to read the entire paper, not just specifics that interest them. This is why we scatter our youth features throughout the paper and editions."

One paper publishing a youth page tried to lure young readers into the rest of the paper by including an index of stories in the paper which were estimated to be of interest to youth.

Types of Content

As shown in Table 4, school news predominates in all three forms—sections, pages and columns.

TABLE 4.

TYPES OF MATERIAL

	Section	Page	Column
General school news	20%	22%	25%
Individual recognition	12	9	10
Activities (other than sports)	4	8	9
Sports	3	2	0
Advice	4	3	0
Entertainment	13	13	0
Miscellaneous*	44	43	56

*Includes letters from students (usually expressing opinions), student polls and student editorials.

Advice Columns

Advice columns in 71 papers were examined. The majority, 68%, appeared to aim these features at both boys and girls, although in general the content seemed more heavily weighted to girls than boys.

Twenty-eight per cent had advice columns only for girls and 4% for parents only. It should be noted, however, that some columns aimed at both boys and girls also had parent-directed content so that, in all, 10% of the advice columns contained some parent-directed content.

TABLE 5.

CONTENT OF ADVICE COLUMNS: BY SEX OF TARGET AUDIENCE

	Girls Only	Both Sexes
Dating, romance, etc.	8%	18%
Etiquette, poise	4	7
Diets, general health	—	7
Careers, colleges, study habits	—	7
Fashions	6	1
Beauty	14	—
General (advice on various topics including combinations of all the above)	7	32

Table 5 shows the breakdown of topics treated in the advice columns. (The totals of both columns add to 111% because several papers ran several advice columns.) Most of the advice columns were syndicated.

PART II

To this point nothing has been said about the **quality** aspect of youth department content. The question of what editors are using in these sections is of great interest. To analyze this aspect of the teen matter, a sample of 60 tearsheets and sections was selected by using a random number procedure. The focus of the analysis was on the types of "values" stressed in these departments.

Values are qualities or states that people desire or, from the point of view of ethics, ought to desire. Ralph K. White, a clinical psychologist, in the late 1940s, developed a list of 50 value categories for content analysis of written material. Approximately 60% of these deal with human needs or motives which White calls "goals." The remainder are categories by which people are judged. White calls these "standards of judgment."

Table 5 shows the results of the value analysis of the 60 youth department selected. In effect, this shows what, on the average, youth is being exposed to in terms of the "values" in our culture.

The primary emphasis was on goals, particularly egoistic, physiological and playful goals. Judgment standards were relatively unstressed in the youth departments.

Reports of physical activities, not surprisingly, predominated (30% of all items). These were mainly sports.

Egoistic articles as a group were most frequent, but no individual type in this group matched the frequency of activity items, although they frequently were related to activities.

Stories about students being honored averaged 19% of the total; reports of student achievements averaged 10%.

The third most frequent category was "playful." Two types were frequent. (1) Creative expression: dancing, student combos, student fiction, poems and other literary efforts; this category accounted for an average of 11% of all items. (2) New experience: fads, games, recordings, etc.; these accounted for 9%.

The low percentage of stories devoted to standards of judgment emphasize the policy expressed by several newspapers not to be "preachy" in the youth department. And it is interesting to note that the standards which were included tended to deal with social and personal areas, not moral ones.

Under the social grouping were discussions of the necessity for tolerance, conformity and group unity (10%). Discussion of standards of personal appearance accounted for 5% of all values.

The composite picture which emerged is of a youth department predominantly geared to giving young readers a department in which they can find news of their own activities. In doing this, the newspaper accords recognition to a particular segment of the population. To a lesser extent, it also provides a creative outlet.

It should be noted that this is an average profile. Within the sample of 60 departments analyzed there was considerable variation. A few papers were publishing youth sections which provided a pretty stiff dose of educational matter and articles of a moralizing tone. However, there were more papers whose department contained almost nothing but activity and recognition stories.

TABLE 6.
VALUE PROFILE OF 60 YOUTH DEPARTMENTS

Goals	
Physiological:	35%
Activity	30
Other	5
Social (sex-love, family-love, friendship)*	9
Egoistic:	37
Independence	4
Achievement	10
Recognition	19
Other	4
Fearful (emotional insecurity)	2
Playful:	24
New experience	9
Creative self-expression	11
Other	4
Cognitive (knowledge)	16
Practical	11
Miscellaneous	4

Standards of judgment	
Moral	5%
Social	10
Egoistic:	7
Appearance	7
Miscellaneous	6

*This "social" category does not include sex in the physical sense, a "physiological" value. There were no instances of the latter in any of the youth departments.

* * *

The question remains: Do youth sections provide a more effective means of attracting young readers than running youth content on an ROP basis? Undoubtedly the answer may vary from paper to paper as a function of such things as size and character of the community.

But, let's assume that such content has the primary function of attracting youthful readers. Then the more basic question is: What kind of content really interests this audience? And beyond that: To what extent is this audience subdivided by age interests?

Answers to all these questions, as some papers are beginning to learn, are available only from the youngsters themselves.

Chapter 9

For summaries of previous research about the subject-matter of this chapter, see Vol. 1, pp. 131-150 and Vol. 2, pp. 112-113.

Ed. Note: The ANPA News Research Center sponsored a study by Dr. Galen Rarick to test the validity and reliability of the self-administered questionnaire method of measuring item readership—to the extent that a comparison with the recognition method would supply such a test.

His conclusions are stated at the end of this article.

It should be noted that he used a probability sample for both readership surveys. The differences he found might have been greater if he had used a less efficient sampling method, as is done by some newspapers.

COMPARISON OF TWO METHODS OF MEASURING ITEM READERSHIP

By Galen R. Rarick

Newspaper readership surveys have been conducted in many ways. But the most widely used way has been the recognition method wherein each respondent goes through the paper and tells an interviewer which items he has read.

This method has been shown to be reliable and to produce information of value to editors and advertising personnel alike. Even so, it is costly. Consequently, some newspapers have sought to reduce costs of readership studies by employing mail surveys or some other sort of self-administered questionnaire.

There is no question but that such approaches are less costly. The question is: How good are they?

Consequently, the Division of Communication Research of the School of Journalism of the University of Oregon, with the financial assistance of the News Research Center Steering Committee of The American Newspaper Publishers Association and the *Salem* (Ore.) *Capital Journal*, sought to answer that question.

This was done by collecting data from two samples of readers of a given edition of the *Capital Journal.* The personal interview-recognition method was employed to gather data from one sample, and a self-administered questionnaire was used with the other. Findings of the two approaches were then compared and evaluated.

A decision was made not to compare a conventional mail survey with the recognition method because enough information has already been collected to demonstrate that the self-selection bias in mail survey samples is often of considerable magnitude. Instead, the author decided to try to employ a carrier-distributed-and-collected self-administered questionnaire—thus eliminating interviewing costs—in such a way as to reduce self-selection of respondents as much as possible.

A two-stage sampling technique was employed in the selection of households that subscribe to the city edition of the paper. In the first stage, a table of random numbers was used to select two samples of carrier boys' routes.

For one sample of routes, subscriber households were listed in geographical order. These households were then subsampled on an every *nth* basis, the interval being selected so as to result in a drawn sample of 620 households. This size of sample was drawn because about 400 interviews were desired, and past experience had led the author to expect that interviews would be completed in about two-thirds of the households.

A Friday afternoon edition of the *Capital Journal* was used in this study, with interviewing done on Saturday. Previous experience had shown that more men are at home on Saturday—and can therefore be interviewed—than on weekdays.

Interviewers were instructed to interview one person, age 18 or older, in each selected household. They were further instructed to interview equal numbers of males and females if possible. If nobody was at home in a selected household, the interviewer was to make as many callbacks as possible on the interviewing day.

A sample of 403 usable interviews was obtained, a completion rate of 65 per cent, about as expected. The interviewing was done on July 23, 1966, and the author's experience indicates that (at least in Oregon) a little higher completion rate probably would have been realized on a Saturday during school months. In the summer, many families go to the beach or the mountains on Saturday.

Data from the other sample of routes were collected by having carrier boys deliver questionnaires in sealed envelopes to selected households when they delivered Friday's paper. Instructions were printed on the outside of the envelope. They told which sex was to fill in the questionnaire, if possible, and that the carrier boy would pick up the questionnaire (and receive 10 cents from the paper for doing so) the next afternoon. The instructions said not to open the envelope until after the paper had been read.

Since the author had not employed this method before, and because others who had used similar approaches reported widely varying completion rates, it was decided that a larger drawn sample should be used for this part of the study so as to assure getting at least 400 completed questionnaires back.

Each carrier boy was given questionnaires in a number equal to 10 per cent of the subscriber households on his route. He was instructed to leave them at the first *n* (whatever number of questionnaires he had been given) households to which he delivered the paper. That way, the carrier boys did not have to be responsible for carrying a list of selected addresses for two days.

The drawn sample numbered 786 households. The carrier boys obtained 653 usable questionnaires, a completion rate of 83.1 per cent.

Since the completion rate was higher for the self-administered questionnaire than for the personal interview study, one might at first think that the questionnaire method was better. But it isn't necessarily so.

The very knowledge that a person is to fill in a questionnaire after reading the paper might cause him to read it more thoroughly and to note his reading more carefully. Furthermore, a person who does not do much newspaper reading might choose not to fill in the questionnaire, while the one who is a consistent reader of newspapers might be especially likely to participate.

Consequently, both of these conditions might result in a consistent overestimate of readership with the self-administered questionnaire.

On the other hand, it has been argued that because of the presence of the interviewer, in the recognition method some respondents will give prestige responses. That is, they will say they read such things as editorials and public affairs news even though they did not, and will say they did not read the comics even though they did. Since no "third party" is present when the self-administered questionnaire is filled in, and since the questionnaire is anonymous, it has been argued that there is very little, if any, prestige response with that method.

So, in spite of the higher completion rate with the self-administered questionnaire, the question remains as to how the findings from the two samples compare, and which method appears to be the better one.

Comparison of Samples

The first step in answering the question is to determine whether or not the two methods produce equivalent samples. Earlier studies suggest that with the use of a self-administered questionnaire, there may be an upper-education, upper-income bias in the completed sample. People who have not developed writing skills and who are not used to working with paper and pencil may be unlikely to fill in even a simple checklist sort of questionnaire. And since education and income are at least moderately related to the reading of some kinds of newspaper content, it is important that the samples be equivalent in those respects and that they be representative of the entire population of readers of the newspaper studied.

Age and sex have also been found to be related to newspaper reading. In fact, these relationships appear to be even greater than are the relationships for education and income. Consequently, the two samples should be equivalent and representative in these respects.

As shown in Table 1, the two samples are equivalent as to age. The very small observed differences are quite likely to have occurred by chance.

Table 1

Comparison by Age of Samples Obtained Through Two Methods of Readership Data Collection

Age:	Personal Interview N = 403	Self-Administered Questionnaire N = 653
18-29	14.3%	14.2%
30-49	39.5	40.9
50-64	26.1	26.5
65 or older	19.6	17.0
Not ascertained	0.5	1.4
Totals	100.0	100.0

Neither did the samples differ as to sex distribution. Of those who were personally interviewd, 56.6 per cent were female, compared to 57.1 per cent of those who completed the questionnaire. There was a slight bias in each sample, since 1960 census data showed that only about 52 per cent of the adults in Salem were females. The fact that there was such a bias in the personal interview sample was not unexpected; interviewers have a difficult time finding men at home in contemporary American society. But it was expected that since the self-administered questionnaire was left at the home for about 24 hours and could therefore be filled in by a male any time he was home, the female bias would be smaller for that sample. Such obviously was not the case.

As hypothesized, the sample that filled in questionnaires was slightly higher in level of education than was the personal interview sample. Of the former, 79.0 per cent had high school diplomas, compared to 74.2 per cent of the latter. Even though the difference is small, it is large enough that with the sample sizes used it would be expected to occur by chance fewer than five times out of 100. Although there is no way of saying just what percentage of all people age 18 and older in *Capital Journal* households have high school diplomas, the evidence suggests that there was a slight upper-education bias in the sample that filled in the questionnaires.

Also, as hypothesized, the sample that filled in questionnaires contained fewer people from low-income households than did the personal interview sample. Only 9.8 per cent of those filling in questionnaires came from households with less than $3,000 annual income, compared to 15.6 per cent of those who were interviewed. The difference is large enough that it would be expected to occur by chance no more than one time in 100. Again, the evidence suggests that there was a slight upper-income bias in the self-administered questionnaire sample.

Even with the two small apparent biases in the questionnaire sample, however, the two methods of data collection did produce fairly comparable samples. The samples did not differ meaningfully on age or sex, variables that have been found to be rather strongly related to newspaper reading. Furthermore, the differences on education and income are small enough that, given the moderate relationship between these variables and newspaper reading, they would not necessarily be crucial in readership measurement.

The question, then, is whether or not the two samples of rather comparable people gave significantly different answers to the same questions asked two different ways. If they did, then obviously one or the other methods of data collection is superior. If they did not, then the two methods are valid to the same degree.

Comparison of Findings I

Not all questions that were asked in the two samples were identical. Since a self-administered questionnaire must be printed in advance of the publication of the newspaper under study, one cannot include in it questions about specific news stories on which data are gathered by the recognition method. Even so, one can include questions in the self-administered questionnaire about certain columns or features that he knows in advance will be published on the day of the study. He can also ask whether the respondent read any sports news, society news, etc., on the test day, and that will enable him to make meaningful comparisons with the recognition data. And, finally, he can ask questions concerning what respondents usually read in the newspaper. All of these things were done in this study and are the bases of the comparisons that follow.

Tables 2 and 3 show the readership estimates for each sex for both methods of data collection for specific items and kinds of content in the *Capital Journal* of July 22. One section of the self-administered questionnaire read this way:

> For each item below check whether you read
> at least part of it or did not read any of it
> Friday, July 22.

Following that statement was a list of items and kinds of content, and for each of them the respondent was to check "did read Friday" or "did not read Friday."

Table 2

Comparison of Readership Estimates for a Given Day Obtained Through Two Methods of Data Collection—Females

Item:	Personal Interview—Recognition (N = 228) % Reading	Self-Administered Questionnaire (N = 373) % Reading
Steve Canyon	26.5	26.0
Batman	18.3	11.3
Mary Worth	48.7	51.2
Letters to the editor	52.6	63.8
Dr. Molner	50.9	60.1
Crossword puzzle	10.4	17.2
Television schedule	39.1	46.1
Radio schedule	2.2	5.1
Page-one weather forecast	49.6	74.8
Stock market reports	12.3	16.1
Any editorial	39.1	73.7
Any sports news	45.4	28.2
Any society or club news	83.7	58.2
Any retail advertisements	77.5	72.9
Any classified advertisements	41.4	39.1
Any world news	46.7	61.7

Even a quick examination of Tables 2 and 3 reveals that the two data collection methods produced rather similar readership estimates for most items for each sex.

In fact, if one looks at the estimates as being relative measures of readership rather than absolute measures, then the two methods produce quite similar results. When the 16 items are ordered from least-read to most-read for each data collection method, the two lists are highly similar for each sex. (The rank-order correlation for the 16 items—rho—is .87 for females and .72 for males).

Even so, it is also seen that for specific items (not types

Table 3
Comparison of Readership Estimates for a Given Day Obtained Through Two Methods of Data Collection—Males

Item:	Personal Interview—Recognition (N = 175) % Reading	Self-Administered Questionnaire (N = 280) % Reading
Steve Canyon	35.8	38.2
Batman	26.7	16.4
Mary Worth	34.1	42.9
Letters to the editor	43.4	63.2
Dr. Molner	28.0	44.3
Crossword puzzle	5.7	9.3
Television schedule	33.5	42.5
Radio schedule	2.3	5.7
Page-one weather forecast	38.9	71.1
Stock market reports	26.3	29.3
Any editorial	47.1	80.8
Any sports news	67.4	66.1
Any society or club news	52.3	19.3
Any retail advertisements	53.5	56.4
Any classified advertisements	34.9	41.5
Any world news	58.1	67.9

of content) the self-administered questionnaire tended consistently to produce somewhat higher estimates. For the 10 specific items (the first 10 in Tables 2 and 3) for which estimates were obtained, the self-administered questionnaire produced the higher estimate eight times for women and nine times among men.

This finding, of course, raises the question as to which method produced the better estimates. The data do not in themselves answer the question. However, each method relies on recall of reading behavior, and psychological studies of memory have indicated that the recognition method produces better recall than do other methods. (See, for example, C. W. Luh, "The Conditions of Retention," *Psy. Monogs.*, Vol. 31 (1922).

Furthermore, the fact that the items tended to get higher readership estimates by use of the self-administered questionnaire is consistent with the proposition that this technique produces samples that are slightly biased in the direction of upper-education and upper-income respondents. Such people have consistently been found to do more reading of most types of content than do low-education, low-income people.

For the Batman comic strip, however, the recognition method produced a significantly higher estimate than did the self-administered questionnaire for each sex. This finding is also consistent with the belief that the questionnaire sample may be somewhat biased. High-education, high-income people have been found to be less likely than others to read escape and fantasy fare such as Batman.

For the Steve Canyon comic strip, the recognition method produced a slightly higher estimate of readership by women, but the self-administered questionnaire produced a somewhat higher estimate of readership by men. Neither difference was large enough to be statistically highly significant.

For each of the other eight specific items—Mary Worth, letters to the editor, Dr. Molner, crossword puzzle, television schedule, radio schedule, page-one weather forecast, and stock market reports—the self-administered questionnaire produced the higher estimates for both sexes. This finding is consistent with the argument that the questionnaire method, even with an 83 per cent response rate from a carefully designed probability sample, tends to under-represent the lower end of the socio-economic scale. It is also consistent with the argument that a person who knows he is to fill in a questionnaire after reading the paper may read it more thoroughly and note his reading more carefully.

The findings are contrary to the proposition that a respondent is more likely to give prestige responses in the presence of an interviewer than he is when filling in an anonymous questionnaire. On most items, the prestige response would be that of saying one had read it—the response given somewhat more often with the questionnaire. For the Batman comic strip (as a quick perusal of the strip will show), there would be no prestige accruing to an adult who said he read it. In fact, the more prestigious response would seem to be "did not read"—the response given more often by the questionnaire sample.

There were two items on which the estimates of readership for both sexes were so much greater for the questionnaire sample that they should be given special attention. One such item was the page-one weather forecast. In the questionnaire sample, 74.8 per cent of the women and 71.1 per cent of the men said they read the forecast on the day in question. In the personal interview-recognition sample, only 49.6 per cent of the women and 38.9 per cent of the men said they had read it.

The data do not in themselves provide an answer as to which of these widely varying estimates is more nearly accurate. However, since recall is aided for all respondents in the recognition method by showing them the paper in question but is not aided for those checking the questionnaire, the evidence from retention studies—as mentioned previously—would suggest that the recognition method provides the better recall. Could it be that people, at least in our culture, are so weather conscious and talk so much about the weather that when they fill in a questionnaire without the aid of examining the paper, they simply assume that they had read the forecast?

The other item on which the estimates were particularly divergent was letters to the editor. With the quesionnaire, 63.8 per cent of the women and 63.2 per cent of the men said they had read the letters. By the recognition method, the estimates were 52.6 per cent and 43.4 per cent, respectively. Again, could it be that letters are so frequently read and talked about that unless a respondent has his memory jogged, he is inclined to assume that he read them on any given day?

In all then, it appears that the two methods of data collection will order specific items as to readership in about the same way, but with a tendency for the questionnaire method to produce higher estimates of readership on most items and lower estimates on escape and fantasy items such as the Batman comic strip.

The much-higher estimates on such popular items as the weather forecast and letters to the editor obtained through the use of the self-administered questionnaire appear to be rather grossly exaggerated readership claims. On the other hand, the much-lower estimates for the Batman comic strip appear to be rather serious under-estimates of its true readership.

Examination of Tables 2 and 3 leads to the inference that the estimates obtained with the self-administered questionnaire will *range* more widely than will those obtained by the use of the personal interview-recognition method. For women, the questionnaire estimates for specific items ranged from a low of 5.1 per cent to a high of 74.8 per cent. The extreme recognition estimates were 2.2 per cent and 52.6 per cent. For men, the questionnaire extremes were 5.7 per cent and 71.1 per cent. The recognition extremes were 2.3 per cent and 43.4 per cent. For each sex then, the distance between the extreme estimates is much greater with the questionnaire than with the recognition method. Aiding the respondents' recall of their reading behavior resulted in a narrower range of estimates across items.

When one turns from the estimates of readership of specific items to those for *types* of content read on the day of the study, the findings are a little bit different. Of six types of content assessed in this study, only two got higher estimates for both sexes from the questionnaire sample than from the recognition sample. One would predict that the socio-economic bias in the questionnaire sample would be most strongly reflected in the readership of such things as world news and editorials. The findings are consistent with that prediction; the estimates of readership of those two kinds of content on July 22 were higher for both sexes for the questionnaire sample.

However, the differences between the estimates (especially for editorials) were so great that the sample bias could explain only a very small part of them. One must conclude that the differences also reflect a great amount of prestige response to the questionnaire. Rather than increasing prestige response, the personal interview-recognition method appears to reduce it.

One would not expect that there would be much of a problem with prestige response or with sample bias in estimating whether or not any advertising was read, and the findings are consistent with that expectation. For women, the estimates for both display and classified advertising were a little bit higher by the recognition method, while for men the estimates were slightly higher with the questionnaire. But none of the differences was large enough to be highly significant. The two methods appear to work about equally well for gross estimates of advertising readership.

For sports news, the two estimates were almost identical for men. But for women, it appears that they think they read less sports news than they actually do. When they went through the paper, about half of them found at least one item they had read. When they checked the questionnaire, only about a fourth of them thought they had read any sports news.

The estimates of readership of society and club news were considerably higher for both sexes for the recognition method than for the questionnaire. The author suspects, however, that this may reflect a problem of definition. The respondents to the questionnaire may have defined the phrase "any society or club news" in a very limited way. But when the author analyzed the recognition data, he included almost all types of women's page content under this heading. Of course, by including only certain women's news items in the analysis, the author can make the estimates for the two methods of data collection come out much alike. Unfortunately, however, he has no way of knowing just how the respondents defined the phrase under question. Further research could provide an answer.

Comparison of Findings II

In some readership surveys that have been made with self-administered questionnaires, no effort has been made to estimate readership for a given day. Rather, respondents have been asked what they "usually read" or "read regularly" or some such question.

In this study, respondents were asked to check each of 32 items that appear in the *Capital Journal* daily as to whether they "almost never read," "read occasionally," or "read regularly." For three additional items that appear in the paper less frequently, they were asked to check whether they "do not usually read" or "usually read."

In separate questions, respondents were asked what they meant by "read occasionally" and "read regularly." Most of them said that by "read regularly" they meant reading the item five or more times a week. (The *Capital Journal* is published six afternoons a week.) That answer was given by 87.1 per cent of the women and 86.1 per cent of the men.

For "read occasionally," the modal response was that it meant reading the item once or twice a week (59.8 per cent of the women, and 70.0 per cent of the men).

That there is at least some ambiguity to such terms as "read occasionally" and "read regularly" is demonstrated by the fact that 3.9 per cent of the women and 3.2 per cent of the men said that "read occasionally" meant reading the item five or more times a week. Similarly, 1.4 per cent of the women and 0.8 per cent of the men said "read regularly" meant reading the item twice a week or less often. Even so, almost nine out of 10 respondents said "read regularly" meant reading the item five or more times a week, so there was a high order or agreement as to the meaning of that term.

In studies employing this approach, the assumption has often been that the percentage of people saying they "read regularly" or "usually read" is the lower bound of readership for a given item or type of content on any given day. In fact, it has been argued, the true readership would be those who read the item regularly plus some of those who read it occasionally. In other words, the "read regularly" and "read usually" responses—it is held—provide an underestimate of readership.

Consequently, it is appropriate to ask how the "read regularly" and "read usually" estimates obtained with the self-administered questionnaire compare with the recognition estimates obtained with the personal interview.

Data have already been presented in this paper that suggest that the self-administered questionnaire produced a sample which somewhat under-represents people who are low in education and are from households that are low in income. Furthermore, the data also are consistent with the proposition that the self-administered questionnaire produces somewhat more prestige response than does the recognition technique.

If these inferences are correct, then it would be argued that the "read regularly" and "read usually" estimates would not necessarily be lower than the recognition estimates. Rather, it would be expected that the recognition estimates would be lower for specific items demanding some reading skill—especially those of an intellectual nature—but higher for escape and fantasy material not requiring much reading skill. Such items would, of course, be comic strips and panels.

Table 4

Comparison of Readership Estimates for a Given Day Obtained by the Recognition Method With "Read Regularly" or "Usually Read" Estimates Obtained With a Self-Administered Questionnaire—Females

Comics	Personal Interview—Recognition (N = 228) % Reading	Self-Administered Questionnaire (N = 373) % Checking "Read Regularly"
Batman	18.3	6.2
Steve Canyon	26.5	17.4
Beetle Bailey	37.8	32.4
Steve Roper	37.0	29.0
Andy Capp	41.3	34.3
Li'l Abner	27.8	21.7
Rex Morgan	47.8	46.1
Tumble Weed	36.5	27.9
Mary Worth	48.7	46.4
Donald Duck	36.1	30.6
Types of Content		
Any Editorial	39.1	64.3
Any World News	46.7	58.7
Any Sports News	45.4	19.8
Any Society or Club News	83.7	46.4
Any Classified Advertising	41.4	29.2
Any Retail Advertising	77.5	63.5
Written Items		
Page-One Weather	49.6	64.3
TV Schedule	39.1	44.0
Radio Schedule	2.2	4.8
Stock Market Reports	12.3	13.1
Letters to the editor	52.6	56.0
Heloise	51.1	62.2
Dr. Molner	50.9	56.6
Your Baby	21.6	16.4
Contract Bridge	3.9	5.9
Crossword Puzzle	10.4	16.6
Dear Abby	74.9	81.2
TV Column by DuBrow	31.7	33.5
Obituaries	63.4	56.3
Weather Story Inside Paper	21.2	38.6
Local Sports Column	7.8	10.7
Court Proceedings	49.4	46.6
		% Checking "Usually Read"
Hal Boyle	32.0	49.3
Allen and Scott	21.5	25.5
Dennis the Menace	49.1	68.4

Table 5

Comparison of Readership Estimates for a Given Day Obtained by the Recognition Method With "Read Regularly" or "Usually Read" Estimates Obtained With a Self-Administered Questionnaire—Males

Comics	**Personal Interview—Recognition (N = 175) % Reading**	**Self-Administered Questionnaire (N = 280) % Checking "Read Regularly"**
Batman	26.7	11.1
Steve Canyon	35.8	29.6
Beetle Bailey	49.4	54.3
Steve Roper	38.1	46.4
Andy Capp	53.4	48.2
Li'l Abner	38.6	36.1
Rex Morgan	35.2	45.4
Tumble Weed	47.2	39.6
Mary Worth	34.1	38.9
Donald Duck	39.8	42.5
Types of Content		
Any Editorial	47.1	68.2
Any World News	58.1	65.0
Any Sports News	67.4	56.8
Any Society or Club News	52.3	8.6
Any Classified Advertising	34.9	28.2
Any Retail Advertising	53.5	37.9
Written Items		
Page-One Weather	38.9	62.5
TV Schedule	33.5	43.9
Radio Schedule	2.3	4.6
Stock Market Reports	26.3	26.4
Letters to the editor	43.4	56.1
Heloise	8.0	10.7
Dr. Molner	28.0	35.0
Your Baby	0.0	2.5
Contract Bridge	3.4	3.6
Crossword Puzzle	5.7	9.6
Dear Abby	40.3	54.6
TV Column by DuBrow	24.4	24.3
Obituaries	34.9	41.4
Weather Story Inside Paper	20.5	44.6
Local Sports Column	34.7	35.0
Court Proceedings	29.5	34.3
		% Checking "Usually Read"
Hal Boyle	24.6	50.7
Allen and Scott	24.6	38.2
Dennis the Menace	46.9	66.4

Similarly, the recognition estimates for types of content would be expected to be the lower ones for such intellectual fare as editorials and world news. For the other four types of content about which questions were asked in this study, the expectations would be different. It has already been stated that there may be a problem of definition with the phrase "society or club news" which results in an underestimate of readership through the use of the self-administered questionnaire. And although sports news, classified advertising, and retail advertising demand a little reading skill, one certainly cannot consider them to be intellectual fare. Consequently, the self-administered questionnaire would not necessarily be expected to produce higher estimates for these types of content.

Examination of Tables 4 and 5 reveals that although the "read regularly" and "usually read" estimates are not identical to those obtained by the recognition method, the two approaches do order items from least-read to most-read in much the same way. So again, if both methods of data collection are looked upon as producing estimates of relative, rather than absolute, magnitude of reading, then they are found to produce similar results. When the 35 items are ordered by the readership estimates from low to high, the two methods of data collection result in rather similar lists. And this is true for each sex. (The rank-order correlation for the 35 items—rho—is .84 for females and .66 for males).

However, when one examines the two sets of readership estimates in Tables 4 and 5, he also finds that the "read regularly" and "read usually" estimates are consistently higher for specific items requiring reading skill than are the recognition estimates for the same items. In Table 4 it is seen that this is true among females for 13 of the 16 such items under "read regularly" and for both of the two such items under "usually read." Table 5 shows that it was true among males for all but one of the items.

On the other hand, the recognition estimates tend to be higher, as expected, for comic strips. This is true for all 10 comic strips among females and for five out of 10 among males.

One interesting—and somewhat puzzling—finding concerns the readership estimates for Dennis the Menace. Since this feature is a panel of much the same apparent nature as comic strips, one would expect that the recognition estimates would be the higher ones. But just the opposite is true for each sex at a statistically highly significant level. The author does not know why this is so, but it could be that the finding reflects the fact that on the day of the recognition study, Dennis the Menace was run on the editorial page. Consequently, it may have received attention much like that given editorials, letters to the editor, and political columnists. Or could it be that readers perceive this panel as not being of the same nature as most comics?

When one examines the estimates for types of content, he finds that the "read regularly" figures are higher for both sexes for editorials and world news as expected. In fact, the estimates for editorials are so high as to make them almost certainly gross over-estimates of readership of editorials for any given day. On the other hand, it appears that not nearly as many people think they read sports or society news as find such items that they have read when their memory is jogged by the recognition method. Similarly, it appears that more people read classified and retail advertising than check "read regularly" for these types of content when filling in a questionnaire.

In all then, the data are consistent with the proposition that the self-administered questionnaire produced a sample that was somewhat biased in the direction of upper-income and upper-education people. They are also consistent with the proposition that the self-administered questionnaire results in more prestige response than does the recognition method.

A Methodological Finding

In this study, as in others before it, it was observed that even though a high percentage of the drawn sample returned the questionnaire, many people did not check all items. Consequently, the question arises as to whether readership estimates should be based on only those respondents who do check an item or on all respondents under the assumption that failure to check an item really means the item was not read.

Inspection of the returned questionnaires produces some evidence that failure to check an item (even though there is a place for "almost never read" or "usually do not read" or "did not read") is tantamount to saying the item was not read. The evidence of this is the fact that on some questionnaires, the only check marks were "did read Friday" or "usually read" or "read regularly" or "read occasionally." It is obvious that these respondents did not bother to report non-reading.

However, there were some respondents who checked the non-reading response for some items but did not make any response to some of the other items. So, for these people, the question remains as to whether or not non-response to an item was tantamount to non-reading.

The answer to that question lies within the data. If failure to check an item is a function of non-reading, then an analysis of the responses of those meticulous respondents who check every item will show this to be true. For these people, obviously, the lower an item is in readership, the greater will be the proportion of non-reading responses. It follows that the items that get the largest proportions of non-reading responses from the meticulous respondents should also have the largest proportions of non-response. In other words, there should be a fairly high and positive rank-order correlation for items when ranked according to non-reading responses and non-response.

On the other hand, if non-response is not an indication of non-reading, then there should be a zero-order correlation between the two.

As seen in Tables 6 and 7, non-response and non-reading responses are indeed highly correlated. **It can be inferred that when a person fails to check an item in a self-administered questionnaire it is an indication that he has not read the item.** Consequently, an item that is left blank has been, in effect, responded to negatively.

In Table 6, the 16 items which the questionnaire respondents were to check "Read Friday" or "Did Not Read Friday" are ranked for non-response and for "did not read Friday." The data are for male readers only and reveal that the items are ranked much alike on the two measures. Table 7 ranks the same 16 items for female readers as to non-response and proportion checking "almost never read." Again, the rankings are much alike. In fact, no matter which non-reading indicator one uses and no matter for which sex the rankings are made, non-respondents and non-reading are found to go hand in hand.

Table 6

Relationship Between Non-response and "Did Not Read Friday" Responses for 16 Items in Self-Administered Questionnaire—Males

Item	Not Checking Anything		Checking "Did Not Read Friday"	
	%	Rank	%	Rank
Batman	13.2	1	70.4	3
Radio Schedule	11.4	2.5	82.9	1
Any Society or Club News	11.4	2.5	69.3	4
Crossword Puzzle	11.1	4	79.6	2
Steve Canyon	10.7	5	51.1	6
Mary Worth	10.4	6	46.8	10
Any Classified Advertising	8.9	7	49.6	7
TV Schedule	8.2	8.5	48.9	8.5
Any World News	8.2	8.5	23.9	14
Any Retail Advertising	7.9	10	35.7	11
Stock Market Reports	7.5	11	60.0	5
Any Editorial	7.1	12	12.1	16
Dr. Molner	6.4	13	48.9	8.5
Page-One Weather	5.7	14	22.9	15
Any Sports News	5.4	15	28.6	13
Letters to the editor	5.0	16	31.1	12

NOTE: The rank-order correlation between non-response and non-reading for the 16 items is .77 when measured by Spearman's rho.

Table 7

Relationship Between Non-response and "Almost Never Read" Responses for 16 Items in Self-Administered Questionnaire—Females

Item	Not Checking Anything		Checking "Almost Never Read"	
	%	Rank	%	Rank
Steve Canyon	15.6	1	54.7	3
Batman	14.7	2	72.4	1
Stock Market Reports	14.2	3	53.4	5
Radio Schedule	13.7	4	67.3	2
Crossword Puzzle	12.9	5	53.9	4
Mary Worth	10.7	6	31.6	7
Any World News	7.5	7	8.8	13
Any Classified Advertising	7.0	8	15.0	10
Any Sports News	6.7	9	37.0	6
Dr. Molner	6.4	10	12.9	11
Any Retail Advertising	5.6	11	5.9	15
Any Society or Club News	5.4	13	17.2	9
Letters to the editor	5.4	13	6.4	14
Any Editorial	5.4	13	4.0	16
TV Schedule	4.3	15	21.2	8
Page-One Weather	2.1	16	10.2	12

NOTE: The rank-order correlation between non-response and non-reading for the 16 items is .75 when measured by Spearman's rho.

Conclusions

One would be naive indeed to assume that any one method of measuring newspaper item readership always produces perfectly valid figures. Since readership survey estimates are based on information from samples, sampling error alone makes that assumption incorrect.

Furthermore, there are many additional kinds of measurement errors. For example, human recall of even recent behavior is by no means perfect. People may well forget—and almost certainly do—having read some items even within a few hours after reading them. And there is considerable evidence that there are errors of prestige response. Some people say—and indeed probably want to believe—they have read such things as editorials and foreign affairs news when they have not.

Given these and other possible errors of measurement, when one finds that two methods of assessment produce differing estimates, he cannot be absolutely certain which is nearer the truth. He can only make inferences based upon internal consistency of the data and upon how well the data fit other related evidence. That is what the author of this report has attempted to do.

In his study, readership estimates obtained through personal interviews by the recognition method are compared with estimates obtained by the use of self-administered questionnaires distributed and collected by newspaper carrier boys.

Major findings are these:

1. Even though the response rate was higher with the questionnaire, and even though carefully drawn probability samples were used for both parts of the study, it appears that the completed questionnaire sample somewhat underrepresented readers who were low in income and low in education. On the other hand, the two samples did not differ significantly as to sex and age. If a readership study employing a self-administered questionnaire were to be made by mail, thus maximizing opportunity for self-selection of respondents, it is quite likely that the upper-education, upper-income bias observed with the questionnaire in this study would be materially increased.

2. The self-administered questionnaire appears to produce more prestige response than does the recognition method.

3. If one considers the two methods of estimation to be indicators of relative popularity of different kinds of content rather than absolute measures of readership, then it is found that the two methods produce rather similar results. Most items that come out near the top of the list by the recognition method also come out near the top of the list with the questionnaire. And least-read items as indicated by one method tend to be least read as indicated by the other.

Even so, with the questionnaire there appears to be so much prestige response to such items as editorials, world news, and syndicated public affairs columnists that these items get higher estimates than do some other items that are at least as well read. And, for some reason, the questionnaire produces far higher estimates of readership of weather stories than does the recognition method. On the other hand, the questionnaire appears to result in too-low a ranking for such non-prestige items as the Batman comic strip and—especially among women readers—sports news.

4. Non-response in a returned self-administered questionnaire to a specific item is tantamount to responding "not read."

5. In all, the recognition method appears to be subject to fewer errors of measurement than is the self-administered questionnaire even when probability samples are designed for each. People who are low in education and low in income tend not to fill in and return the questionnaires, whereas interviewers pursue these people just as vigorously as they do others. And aiding the respondent's recall by going through the paper with him appears to reduce prestige response and to help him remember reading non- prestige items that he otherwise forgets.

6. A self-administered questionnaire study is less costly than is a recognition study. Consequently, if one employs it

with a good sample and sees to it that carrier boys get a high return rate, it may well be worth using as a rough indicator of the relative popularity of different features or types of content. However, readership estimates obtained by this method for items at the opposite ends of the prestige continuum (editorials vs. Batman, world news vs. sports news, etc.) should be regarded with skepticism.

Comparative Costs

In this study, the cost of printing questionnaire booklets and instruction envelopes, plus the cost of having the carrier boys distribute and collect them was only about one-half as great as was the cost of interviewing in the recognition study even though the completed questionnaire sample was about half again as large. And the cost of data processing was about 25 per cent less with the questionnaire. This was true because the questionnaire was pre-coded, whereas coders had to go through the marked papers for the recognition study and record the data on code sheets before they could be punched into cards. Other costs, such as sample design, machine runs on data, and analysis and writing, were just about the same for the two methods. In all, when adjustments were made for sample size, the questionnaire study was found to cost about one-third less than the recognition study. Whether or not this saving is enough to justify the use of the self-administered questionnaire must be answered, of course, for each particular study in the light of the resource available and the intended use of the information obtained. If important decisions are to be based on the findings of a readership study, then it would appear to be very wise to employ the recognition method rather than the self-administered questionnaire.

Chapter 10

Attitude Changing Effect Of News and Photos

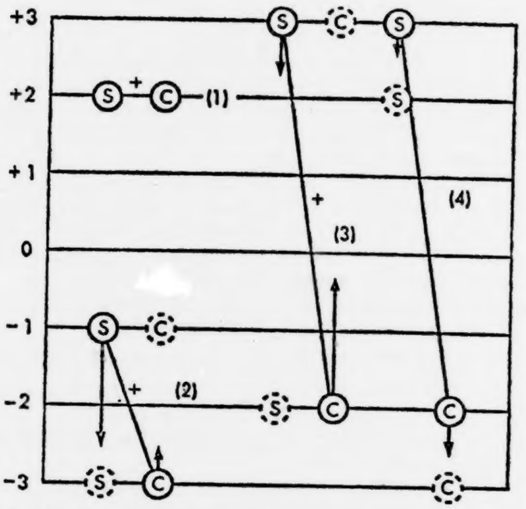
When Nikita Khrushchev, on the NBC news program July 11, said that Richard M. Nixon was a "good for nothing—and an unprincipled puppet," this probably caused the average American to make a lower evaluation of Khrushchev and a higher evaluation of Nixon. In fact, a representative opinion poll could determine both the direction and the exact magnitude of the attitude change induced by the statement.

That is because C. E. Osgood and his associates at the University of Illinois, about a dozen years ago, developed the "principle of congruity," which they defined as "changes in evaluation are always in the direction of increased congruity with [illegible] existing frame of reference."

The issue of congruity arises whenever a message is received which relates two or more objects of judgment via an assertion. Thus, for EISENHOWER (+) to **laud** FREEDOM [illegible] THE PRESS (+) is congruent with the existing frame [illegible] reference of most Americans, but for PRAVDA (—) [illegible] FREEDOM OF THE PRESS (+) is attitudinally incongruent because a bad **source** should not be capable of favoring **a concept** Americans consider good.

Conversely, PRAVDA (—) could approve FREE LOVE (—) [illegible] congruent, but for EISENHOWER (+) to approve FREE LOVE (—) would be incongruent.

In human thinking, "judgmental frames of reference tend toward maximal simplicity," i.e., toward black-or-white, all-or-nothing judgments. This means—except for sophisticated people—a continuing pressure toward **polarization** of attitude: attitudinal objects are either "good" or "bad."



In the four situations graphically illustrated in the figure, a source (S in a solid circle) makes an assertion (+ or —) about a concept (C in a solid circle). The arrows show the direction and magnitude of the predicted changes in attitude for each of the situations (the series of numerals in parentheses). The broken circles indicate the positions of maximum congruity for the sources and concepts.

The figure above is a graphic illustration of the direction and magnitude of attitudinal change for four situations. It will be noted that this is a seven-step scale ranging from +3 to —3. The arrows indicate the direction and magnitude of predicted change. In the left-hand lower corner, for example, the assertion for situation (2) is BULGARIA —1 favors THOUGHT CONTROL —3.

The source (S) of the assertion must absorb twice as much pressure toward change. Since the assertion is positive ("favors") change is in a negative direction. In other words, the evaluation of the source after the assertion was made is more negative than it had been before it was made, and the evaluation of the concept (C) is a little more favorable.

In magnitude, the source became more negative by more than one scale unit and the concept became more positive by about one-fourth of a scale unit.

Magnitude of change for such situations was determined by before-and-after tests.

The maximum total pressure toward congruity (S and C in broken circles) was —2 units for the source and +2 for the concept.

The sources and concepts for the other examples, with the nature of the assertion (+ or —), are as follows, and the direction and magnitude of the attitudinal changes are shown in the figure. The numerals in parentheses identify the examples mentioned below and the one discussed above (2). The circled initials shown in broken lines show the positions of maximum congruity.

(1) ENGLAND +2 **favors** FREE TRADE +2. Since there is no incongruity there is no attitude change.

(3) EISENHOWER +3 **praises** SOUTH AMERICAN REVOLUTIONS —2. The pressure is greater on the less polarized concept than on the more polarized source. Hence, there is a considerable favorable change for the concept and a small unfavorable change for the source.

(4) EISENHOWER +3 **denounces** EGYPTIAN CONTROL OF SUEZ —2. Since the negative assertion is largely congruent with Americans' existing attitudes there is only a slight change, which is greater in magnitude on the less polarized concept.

The foregoing summary is an oversimplified explanation of the theory and omits statements about some of the psychological theory from which the principle derives.

Application to News Photos

Mehling, in 1959, measured the attitude changing effect of newsphotos as they are used in newspapers and news magazines.

In one experiment, he compared the attitude change of his subjects induced by a newsphoto with a cutline and a news story lead with a headline. The change was greater for the newsphoto with a cutline; that is, photographs with words induced more change than did words alone.

The sources for this experiment were Nehru, Earl Warren, Molotov and Mao Tse-tung, and the concepts were Government Regulation of Reading Matter, Red Cross Relief to Hungary, Worldwide Teacher Exchange, and Race Integration. In his experiment, the four sources and four concepts were associated both negatively and positively.

In a second experiment, the subjects were exposed to a newsphoto which showed President Eisenhower greeting King Saud with a handshake; both were smiling. The only text under the photos was a label identification of each of the personalities; that is, the communication was nonverbal.

The pretest had shown a predominantly positive attitude toward Eisenhower and a somewhat negative attitude toward Saud. The prediction was that the association of the two men in a positive way (smiling and handshaking) would cause Eisenhower to seem less "good," "wise," and "fair" and for Saud to seem more "good," etc. The prediction was confirmed.

In an era in which "image" is said to be an important determinant in political elections, the principle of congruity would seem to have some relevance. It was also relevant in 1950 when copies of a faked composite picture of Senator Millard Tydings and Earl Browder, the Communist leader, were distributed in a Maryland senatorial election.

(C. E. Osgood and P. Tannenbaum, "The Principle of Congruity and Prediction of Attitude Change," Psychological Review, 62: 42-55, 1955; Osgood, Susci and Tannenbaum, The Measurement of Meaning, 1957; R. Mehling, "Attitude Changing Effect of News and Photo Combinations," Journalism Quarterly, 36: 189-198, 1959)

News Commentators Rated Higher Than the Media They Use

Sargent, in 1965, found that a well-known news commentator is rated higher in certain respects than is his medium.

He presented, in a rotated order, to 340 undergraduates eight news stories taken from national news media. The "sources" were:

A staff writer, New York Times
Huntley-Brinkley Report, NBC
Time
David Lawrence in U.S. News & World Report
James Reston in the New York Times
TV special events show, NBC
Gene Rawling (a fictitious name) in Time
U.S. News & World Report

The fictitious writer for Time was included to check on the possibility that prestige would attach to merely the use of a personal source even when the name is unknown. Sargent found, however, that Time by itself rated slightly higher than the magazine plus the writer. This shows that the name of a personal source does not necessarily increase the rating. He, therefore, eliminated these two sources from his computations, retaining six.

The instruments used for rating were "semantic differential" scales of polar adjectives (e.g., accurate/inaccurate).

He found that the personal sources as a group were rated more *accurate*, more *sincere*, more *responsible* and more *impartial* than their media as a group. He called these "ethical" dimensions.

There were no significant differences on stylistic dimensions. But he found the personal sources were rated *calmer* than the media on an agitated/calm scale.
(Leslie W. Sargent, "Communicator Image and News Reception," Journalism Quarterly, 42:35-42, Winter, 1965)